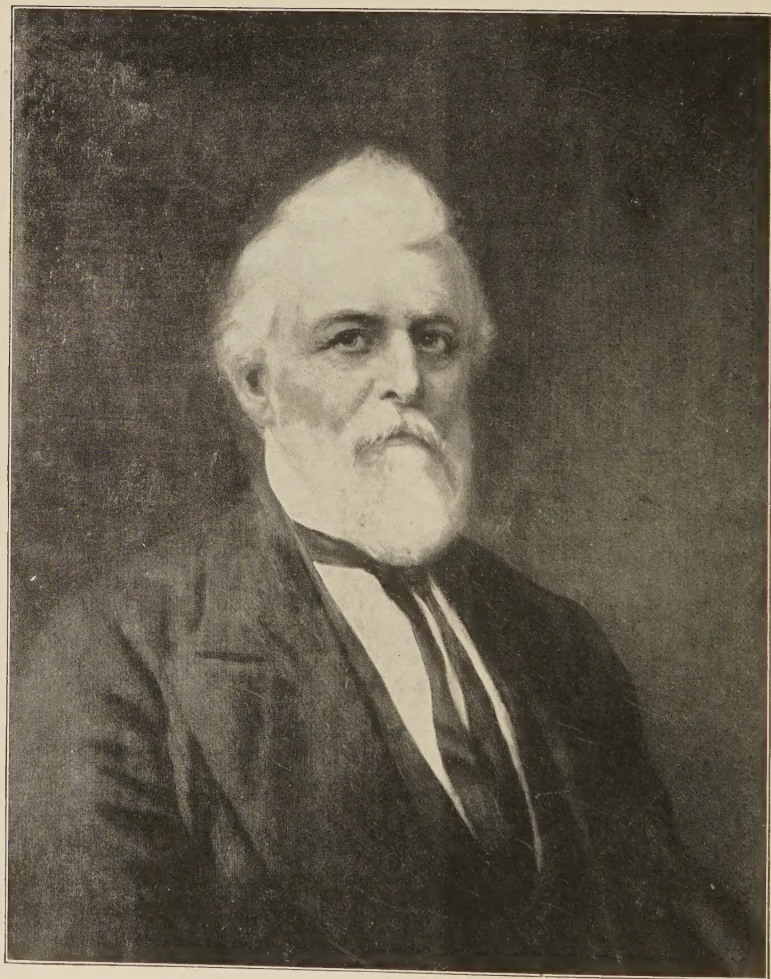


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COLLECTIONS
OF THE
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF WISCONSIN

EDITED BY
LYMAN COPELAND DRAPER, LL. D.
SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

VOL. VIII

Being a page-for-page Reprint of the Original Issue of 1879

UNDER THE EDITORIAL DIRECTION OF
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D.
Secretary and Superintendent



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Preface to Reprint Edition

Volume viii is notable for its variety of interests. We have here the customary Annual Reports of the Executive Committee—this time for the years 1877-79—upon the acquisitions of the Library and Museum, and outlining the needs and prospects of the institution. There are memorial addresses upon Stephen H. Carpenter and George Baxter Smith, prominent citizens as well as members, who had recently deceased—these, with the Reports, filling the first third of the volume.

To the scientific student of history, doubtless the most acceptable features, as well as those having the most lasting value, are the Langlade Papers, 1737-1800, supplementing the installment given in volume vii, and the Moran and Gorrell documents, 1763-65. It is almost wholly upon documentary material published in volumes iii, v, vii, viii, x, and xi of the *Collections* that until recently has been based the history of Wisconsin during the French regime. In volumes xvi-xviii, however, so strong a flood of new light has been poured upon that picturesque and stirring period, that all earlier-published data appear in comparison somewhat insignificant and inconclusive, and many heretofore-accepted historical judgments are overturned. For instance, when we read in a French official document written in 1746 that Green Bay (the La Baye of old) was even then recognized as a fur-trading place of some consequence, at which the trader's lease had expired,¹ we begin to doubt whether, after all, we should continue to regard Charles de Langlade as the first white settler of Wisconsin.

Next in historical importance to contemporary documents, are the reminiscences of men and women who have participated in

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 450, 451.

or witnessed historical events. Such narratives vary greatly in reliability. Several of those appearing in various volumes of our *Collections* have a close approximation to documentary sources, while there are others of relatively slight value. Every narrative that depends upon human memory of events far removed in years from the time of writing, should where possible be tested by such documentary evidence as is available.

In the present volume, Edward Tanner's "Wisconsin in 1818" has contemporary value, having been obtained from him in the year following the journey herein recorded. Louis B. Porlier's "Capture of Mackinaw," and the anonymous sketch (attributed by Draper to Henry R. Schoolcraft) giving "An Incident of Chegoimegon," are, however, versions of Indian traditions obtained long after the events, and doubtless more or less tinctured by unconscious exaggeration resulting from frequent rehearsal over savage camp-fires. It would not be wise to accept these tales as veritable history, save as possibly true in outline. On the other hand, the "Tradition of the Fox Indians, 1730," coming from a similar source, has quite recently been unquestionably confirmed (save that the date was 1733) by a contemporary French document published in our volume xvii (pp. 188-191).

The reminiscences of pioneer life by Mrs. Bristol, Mr. Clark, General Ellis, and Mr. Kingston, apparently were wrought with care, and are in considerable degree illuminating. Mr. Strong's paper on the "Indian Wars of Wisconsin" is a convenient summary of the topic, so far as material had thus far been published in the *Collections*, but confessedly bringing nothing new to its elucidation. Mr. Luchsinger's paper on "The Swiss Colony of New Glarus" is of a different sort, having been the first authoritative presentation of this attractive tale of the sturdy Swiss immigrants of Green County; but later, with added material, he gave us in volume xii a much fuller account of the matter, while in volume xv was published perhaps the prime source of his admirable study, Mathias Duerst's diary.

Dr. Butler's "Early Historic Relics of the Northwest" was chiefly important as first bringing to public notice that remark-

able Wisconsin relic known as "Perrot's ostensorium," which since then has been pictured in most popular histories of the United States and attracted marked attention. There is an interesting and suggestive symposium on "Ancient Copper Implements," by Dr. Draper, Mr. Perkins, Colonel Whittlesey, and Dr. Hay; the "Pictured Cave of La Crosse Valley" receives attention from Messrs. Brown and Rice, with numerous text illustrations; and the veteran Canadian historian, Benjamin Sulte, discusses Jean Nicolet's great journey to the Northwest, proving conclusively, we think, that 1634 was the actual date—a view now generally accepted..

We thus see that volume viii marked at several points a distinct advance in the development of Wisconsin history, and this reprint edition is thereby fully justified.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS.,

December, 1908.

REPORT
AND
COLLECTIONS
OF THE
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF WISCONSIN,

For the Years 1877, 1878 and 1879.

VOL. VIII.

MADISON, WIS.:
DAVID ATWOOD, STATE PRINTER.
1879.

Introductory

The eighth volume of *Collections* of our Historical Society presents quite a variety of topics pertaining to the early times, men, and events of Wisconsin. They very properly commence with the prehistoric era—and early copper mining on Lake Superior, and the ancient copper implements, which, of late years, have been brought to the surface by the plow in different portions of our State; and an account of the Pictured Cave of La Crosse Valley. Then among others, we have some new light respecting Nicolet's early visit to Wisconsin, and Professor Butler's paper on "Early Historic Relics of the Northwest."

Judge Martin has communicated some valuable, and hitherto unpublished, papers of the Langlade family—emphatically the pioneer settlers of Wisconsin; a traditionary account of the capture of Mackinaw, by Louis J. Porlier; followed by a series of ancient papers giving glimpses of Green Bay and the frontiers during the period of 1763-65. The sprightly "Reminiscences" of Mrs. Bristol, and Hon. Sat. Clark's "Early Times at Fort Winnebago," will be read by our surviving pioneers with much interest. What is adduced on the much controverted question of the Williams-Dauphin claim, will attract attention, even beyond the borders of Wisconsin; and will, we trust, go far towards dissipating all doubts as to Williams's true character, and leave the Indian missionary completely stripped of all his pretensions to having been Louis Seventeenth. The papers on the "Early Settlement of Juneau County," and of the "Swiss Colony of New Glarus," serve to rescue many important facts and details from forgetfulness, and preserve a record of the early self-denials and sufferings attendant on planting homes in the wilderness.

Other papers of value are necessarily reserved for our next volume—among them, Dr. Enoch Chase's personal narrative of early Milwaukee settlement; Mrs. Adele B. Gratiot's narrative of early times in the Lead Region; and Hon. J. E. Thomas's paper on the pioneer settlement of Sheboygan County. L. C. D.

Objects of Collection Desired by the Society

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers—old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Wisconsin, and of the Black Hawk War; biographical notices of our pioneers, and of eminent citizens, deceased; and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators, and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments, and curiosities.

2. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues, minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, conferences and synods, and other publications relating to this State, or Michigan Territory, of which Wisconsin formed a part from 1818 to 1835—and hence the Territorial laws and journals, and files of Michigan newspapers for that period, we are peculiarly anxious to obtain.

3. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation, and locality.

4. Information respecting any ancient coins, prehistoric copper implements, or other curiosities found in Wisconsin. The contribution of such articles to the Cabinet of the Society is respectfully solicited.

5. Indian geographical names of streams and localities in this State, with their significations.

6. Books of all kinds, and especially such as relate to American history, travels, and biography in general, and the West in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary, and engravings.

7. We solicit from Historical Societies and other learned bodies, that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the full extent of our ability.

8. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliment of authors and publishers, to present, with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its Library.

9. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines, and reviews, will confer a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its Library—or, at least, such numbers as may contain articles bearing upon Wisconsin history, biography, or antiquities; all of which will be carefully preserved for binding.

Packages for the Society may be sent to, or deposited with, the following gentlemen, who have kindly consented to take charge of them. Such parcels, to prevent mistakes, should be properly enveloped and addressed, even if but a single article; and it would, furthermore, be desirable, that donors should forward to the Corresponding Secretary a specification of books or articles donated and deposited.

Donors to the Society's Library and collections will, in return, be placed upon the list of exchanges, and receive equivalent publications of the Society.

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- Historical Narratives*—Pinney, Orton, Tenney, Proudfit, and Hutchinson.
- Indian History and Nomenclature*—Chapman, Butler, Allen, Stevens, and Reynolds.
- Lectures and Essays*—Parkinson, Butler, Conover, Durrie, and Hutchinson.
- Soliciting Committee*—Chapman, Hobbins, Braley, Giles, Proudfit, and Johnson.
- Annual Address*—G. B. Smith, Pinney, Burrows, Braley, and Gurnee.
- Membership Nominations*—Bashford, Chapman, Vilas, Gurnee, Bryant, and Mills.
- Prehistoric Antiquities*—Butler, Perkins, Allen, Conover, and Giles.
- Obituaries*—Atwood, Draper, G. B. Smith, Braley, and Tenney.

Annual Report of the Executive Committee

The first five years of the Society's existence was merely a nominal one. From its re-organization in January, 1854, its real efficiency dates. After twelve years' efforts and accumulations, the Society removed into our present spacious apartments, appropriately fitted up for its occupancy in the new capitol building; having, during that period, issued four volumes of *Collections*, and gathered a Library of over twenty-one thousand volumes and pamphlets—exhibiting an annual increase of a little short of eighteen hundred volumes and pamphlets. During the eleven years since our removal into these comfortable quarters, the average annual increase has been four thousand, four hundred and forty-two books and pamphlets—making the present strength of the Library over seventy thousand volumes and pamphlets. Three additional volumes of *Collections* have, within this period, been issued, and three volumes of *Catalogues* of the Library.

In a new State like ours, with but few men of wealth to foster and endow such institutions, this growth will be regarded as alike creditable to the management of the Society, and the enlightened liberality of the legislature of the State, well seconded by the successive governors, and other State officers. This recognition of State aid and fostering care is justly due to the people of Wisconsin and their legislative and executive representatives, unflaggingly extended to the Society through every period, in adversity as well as in prosperity. There is nowhere on record an

¹ Submitted January 2, 1877.

instance of public assistance, to the same extent, to any similar association in this or any other country.

Financial Condition—Binding Fund

The treasurer's report shows the receipts of the year into the general fund, including the small balance of the previous year, to have been \$5,001.87; and the disbursements, \$4,987.62, leaving a balance of \$14.25.

The binding fund has received but two donations during the year—one of forty dollars, to complete the payment of a pledge of fifty dollars, from Hon. G. W. Bradford; and one of twenty dollars from Rev. R. M. Hodges, D. D.,—his fifth annual contribution of that amount; both of these generous friends of the Society, residing beyond our borders, are numbered among our honorary vice-presidents, and have attained the venerable age of four score years. Would that their example might provoke others to similar acts of benevolence.

Duplicate books sold during the year have amounted to \$329.70; accrued interest, \$295.23; annual membership dues, net \$47.05;—thus showing an addition of \$731.98, and making the total present amount of this important fund, \$4,800.41.

The section of land on the western borders of Texas, set apart for this fund by the late Hon. John Catlin, has not yet become marketable; and several years may elapse before its sale can be judiciously effected, owing to the liability of that exposed frontier to raids of plundering parties of Mexicans and Indians. This thoughtful provision on the part of Mr. Catlin, who made the first contribution to this fund, in 1867, will eventually prove quite a creditable addition to this important object. His worthy relict, Mrs. Catlin, manifests an anxious solicitude to carry into effect this long cherished purpose of her departed husband.

This binding fund is a matter of too much importance to the Society, its Library and its thousands of readers, to languish for want of interest. Ten years have elapsed since this fund was commenced, and during all this time we had necessarily to draw upon the general fund for the very scant amount of binding we have been forced to procure. Our twenty-five thousand unbound pamphlets, and large accumulations of unbound manuscripts,

books, reviews and magazines, need to be properly bound alike for their better preservation, and convenience for reference purposes. A little earnest effort would, doubtless, secure sufficient pledges, payable annually, for five successive years, without interest, to render this fund adequate to the object in view; so that, only using its income, it would ever after prove a permanent source of usefulness to the Society.

Library Additions

During the past year, the Library additions have been 2,826 volumes, of which 1,482 were acquired by purchase, 600 by donation, and 738 by binding, and 2,336 pamphlets—of which 1,358 were secured by donation, 978 by purchase, and 64 mounted from newspaper clippings. Of the book additions, 175 volumes were folios, 91 quartos; increasing the number of folios in the Library to 2,389, and the quartos to 2,949, and both to 5,338.

Progressive Library Increase

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table:

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in library
1854, Jan. 1 . . .	50		50	50
1855, Jan. 2 . . .	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1 . . .	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, Jan. 6 . . .	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, Jan. 1 . . .	1,024	959	1,983	8,403
1859, Jan. 4 . . .	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3 . . .	1,800	723	2,523	12,533
1861, Jan. 2 . . .	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2 . . .	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2 . . .	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, Jan. 2 . . .	248	356	604	19,346
1865, Jan. 3 . . .	520	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2 . . .	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3 . . .	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4 . . .	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1 . . .	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, Jan. 4 . . .	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, Jan. 3 . . .	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
1872, Jan. 2 . . .	1,211	3,789	5,000	50,530
1873, Jan. 2 . . .	2,166	1,528	3,694	54,224
1874, Jan. 2 . . .	1,852	1,178	3,030	57,254
1875, Jan. 2 . . .	1,945	1,186	3,131	60,385
1876, Jan. 4 . . .	2,851	1,764	4,615	65,000
1877, Jan. 2 . . .	2,820	2,336	5,156	70,156
Total . . .	35,139	35,017	70,156	

Principal Book Additions

English and Continental History and Literature.—History of the Holy War, 1647, folio, 1 vol.; Sammes' Britannica Antiqua, 1676, folio, 1 vol.; Raleigh's History of the World, 1736, folio, 2 vols.; London Registers and Calendars, 1755–1807, 26 vols.; Chevalier Johnstone's Rebellion of 1745, 1 vol.; Bulletins of European Campaigns, 1793–1826, 30 vols.; Chronicle of England, 13 vols.; Guizot's History of France, 6 vols.; Monumenta Anglicana, 5 vols.; Humboldt's New Spain, 4 vols.; Duyckinck's History of the World, 4 vols.; Almon's Correspondence, 5 vols.; Vernon's Letters of the Reign of William III., 3 vols.; Molesworth's History of England, 3 vols.; Goodrich's History of England, 3 vols.; Southey's West Indies, 3 vols.; English Miscellaneous Pamphlets, 12 vols.; Moule's English Counties, 2 vols.; Wilson's Pre-Historic Scotland, 2 vols.; Goodman's Social History of Great Britain, 2 vols.; Collier's Shakespeare's Library and Notes and Emendations to Shakespeare, 3 vols.; Stevens' Catalogue of American Books in British Museum, 2 vols.; and the following works, one volume each: Smith's Assyrian from Cuneiform Inscriptions, Tucker's Devonshire Pedigrees, Memoirs of James Fillans, the sculptor, a richly illustrated work presented by his daughter, Miss Fillans. Brockett's Glossary of North Country Words, Howard's Revelations of Egyptian Mysteries, Nicolas' History of Battle of Agincourt, Stevens' John and Sebastian Cabot, Dyers' Pompeii. Dudley's Noölogy, Major's Select Letters of Columbus, Pownall's Study of Antiquities, Pownall's Antiquarian Romances, Pethrani's Anglo-Saxon Literature, and History of the Feuds and Clans of Scotland.

Works on Science, etc.—Wilkes' Exploring Expedition, in folio and quarto, bound in Turkey morocco, 26 vols., from the State, through the courtesy of Gov. Ludington; Philadelphia Journal of Medical and Physical Science, 8 vols.; Prichard's Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, 5 vols.; Prichard's Eastern Origin of Celtic Nations, 1 vol.; Audubon's Quadrupeds of N. A., 3 vols.; Transactions of the Royal Society, 4 vols.; Smithsonian Contributions, 2 vols.; Medical and Anthropological Statistics, 2 vols.; Falconer's Paleontological Memoirs, 2 vols.;

Rafinesque's *Fluviatile Bivalve Shells of the Ohio*, and *Medical Flora*, 2 vols.; Morton's *Types of Mankind*, and *Crania Ægyptica*, 2 vols.; and the following in single volumes: Hayes' *Open Polar Sea*, *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, *International Pre-Historic Congress*, Catlin's *Uplifted and Subsided Rocks*, Cuvier's *Revolutions of the Globe's Surface*, Flouren's *History of the Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood*, Hayden's *Geographical Survey of Colorado*, etc., Worthen's *Geological Survey of Illinois*, vol. 6, Simpson's *Exploration of the Great Basin of Utah*, and Wheeler's *Geographical Surveys in the West*.

American History and Literature.—Lafitau's *Hist. of Discoveries in New World*, 4 vols.; Hazard's *Historical Collection of State Papers, 1792*, 2 vols. quarto; Burgoyne's *Campaign*, quarto, 1780; Col. Laurens' *Correspondence, 1777–78*; *Hist. of Late War, 1774*; O'Callaghan's *Jesuit Relations, 1632–72*; Caryon's *Jesuits of Canada*; Shea's *Captivity of Jogues*; Shea's *American Linguistics*; Ferland's *Hist. Canada*, 2 vols.; Beatty's *Two Months' Tour, 1768*; *Details of Particular Services, 1776–79*; *Journals of Old Congress, 1774–88*, 13 vols.; *Journals of Congress, 1789–93*, 5 vols.; Benezet's *Observations on American Indians, 1784*; London's *Indian Wars*, 2 vols.; Murray's *Travels in America*, 2 vols.; Guthrie's *Geography, 1809*; Buckingham Smith's *Career of Hernando De Soto*; *Illustrations of Revolutionary History*, scraps, mounted, 2 vols.; Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, 2 vols.; Van Horne's *Hist. of Army of Cumberland*, 3 vols.; Schmucker's *Hist. of Civil War*, 2 vols.; N. Y. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, 2 vols.; Clark's *Naval Hist. of the U. S.*, 3 vols.; Force's *National Calendar*, 6 vols.; Bancroft's *Hist. U. S.*, revised ed'n, 6 vols.; Thomas' *Hist. of Printing*, revised edition, 2 vols.; Tuttle and Durrie's *Histories of Iowa and Wisconsin*, 2 vols.; *Provincial Papers of New Hampshire*, 6 vols.; *Pennsylvania Hist. Society Bulletin, 1845–46*; Macauley's *Hist. of New York*, 3 vols.; Jacque's *Relation*; Sharan's *Adventures*; Roberts' *Florida*; Willett's *Memoir*; Wheaton's *Northmen in America*; Stone's *Reminiscences of Saratoga*; Binney's *Inquiry into the Formation of Washington's Farewell Address*; Wright's *Sketches of Plymouth*,

Pa.; Holden's Hist. of Queensbury, N. Y.; Raum's Hist. of Trenton, N. J.; Journal of Claude Blanchard, 1780-82; Potter's Mil. Hist. of N. H.; Gleig's Campaigns against Washington, Baltimore, and New Orleans, 1814-15; Auchinlek's Hist. of War of 1812; Silliman's Tour to Quebec; Roy's Hist. of Canada; Marshall's Hist. of the Colonies; Murphy's Anthology of New Netherlands; Reavis' Hist. of St. Louis; Newhall's Iowa, 1841; Barnes' Centenary Hist. of U. S.; Hieroglyphic Geography of the U. S.; Pickering's Orthography of Indian Languages; Harris's Bibliotheca Americana, additions, folio; Mrs. Hammond's Hist. of Madison Co., N. Y.; Pennsylvania Archives, second series; Comstock's American Antiquities; Bossu's New Voyages; McCulloh's Researches on America; McMaster's Hist. of Steuben Co., N. Y.; Perrot's Memoire; Quebec Literary and Hist. Society Transactions; Indian Treaty at Philadelphia; Bradford's Hist. of Mass.; Duponceau's Indian Grammar; Hist. of Capture of Louisburg; Hosack's Life of Clinton; Bonduel's Indian Missions in Wisconsin, 2 vols.; Whitford's Sketch of Education in Wisconsin; Carpenter's History of Wisconsin University; Chapin's Sketches of Wisconsin Colleges; Salisbury's Sketch of Wisconsin Normal Schools; Davies' Sketch of the Wisconsin Academy of Arts, Sciences and Letters; Butler's Sketch of the Wisconsin Historical Society; Wisconsin at the Centennial; Wisconsin History and Topography, prepared by D. S. Durrie, in six MS. folio vols.—of great value to writers on our State, and the result of much painstaking inquiry and research.

Periodical Literature.—American Magazine, 1744, 1 vol.; New American Magazine, 1758-60, 2 vols.; Weekly Magazine, 1768-75, 13 vols.; Royal Magazine, 1759, 1 vol.; Town and Country Magazine, 1771 and 1779, 2 vols.; St. James' Magazine, 1774, 1 vol.; Boston Magazine, 1785, 1 vol.; American Magazine, 1787-88, 1 vol.; New England Quarterly, 1802, 3 vols.; The Medley, 1803, 1 vol.; Latter Day Luminary, 1818, 1 vol.; U. S. Literary Gazette, 1824-26, 3 vols.; Worcester's Talisman, 1828-29, 1 vol.; Mechanics' Magazine, 1830, 1 vol.; People's Magazine, 1833, 1 vol.; American Magazine, 1835, 2 vols.; Literary Record, 1844-48, 4 vols.; Graham's Magazine, 14 vols.; The Athen-

æum, 22 vols.; The Zoist, a Physiological Journal, 13 vols.; Quarterly Review, 9 vols.; Harper's Magazine, 6 vols.; Living Age, 6 vols.; Unitarian Miscellany, 6 vols.; Godey's Lady's Book, 5 vols.; Brit. Quarterly Review, 5 vols.; Southern Baptist Missionary Journal, 5 vols.; The Old and New, 3 vols.; Banker's Magazine, 3 vols.; New Mirror of Literature, 3 vols.; American Monthly, 3 vols.; North American Review, and Index, 3 vols.; Knickerbocker Magazine, 2 vols.; Historical and Genealogical Register, 2 vols.; American Review and Literary Journal, 2 vols.; Atlantic Monthly, 2 vols.; Mass. Missionary Magazine, 2 vols.; and the following, one volume each: American Quarterly Register, Wonderful Magazine, Historical Magazine, Southern Literary Messenger, Register and Magazine of Biography, Antiquarian and General Review, American Bibliopolist, American Bookseller, Virginia Literary Museum, N. Y. Portrait Monthly, American Apollo, Kendall's Expositor, Cobbett's Register, Military Magazine, N. Y. Genealogical Record, News Letter, and N. Y. Missionary Magazine.

Bound Newspaper Files.—The additions to this department have been large and valuable, as the following list sufficiently attests:

	Vols.
London Journal and True Briton, 1720-28	1
South Carolina Gazette, etc., 1723-35	1
New England Journal, 1739-49	1
New York Gazette and Post Boy, 1749-50	1
Pennsylvania Journal, 1750-52	1
South Carolina Gazette, 1753	1
London Chronicle, 1757-64	8
Pennsylvania Gazette, 1764	1
New York Chronicle, 1769	1
London Chronicle, 1771-73	3
Pennsylvania Journal, 1772-74	2
The Crisis, 1775-76	1
Pennsylvania Gazette, 1776	1
Pennsylvania Ledger, 1776	1
Pennsylvania Journal, 1777-79	1
New Hampshire Gazette, 1784-86	1
Columbian Centinel, 1794	1
London Register, 1802-5	1
Salem Register, 1802-5	1
Boston Gazette, 1805	1
London Traveler, 1805	1
Various Newspapers, 1806-8	2
Boston Weekly Messenger, 1812-30	9
Boston Gazette, 1813-15	2
American Weekly Messenger, 1814-15	1
Boston Evening Gazette, 1814-17	2
Boston Intelligencer, 1817	1

	<i>Vols.</i>
New England Galaxy, 1817-18	1
Various Newspapers, 1818	1
Louisiana Advertiser, 1820	1
Boston Recorder, 1820-31	3
Portland Mirror, 1822-23	1
The Minerva, 1822-24	2
Columbian Centinel, 1824	1
American Traveler, 1825-27	2
Le Roy Gazette, 1827-28	1
New England Palladium, 1828	1
The Friend, 1828-75	15
Dover Unitarian Monitor, 1831-33	1
Independent Chronicle, 1832	1
New York Observer, 1833-34	1
Boston Pearl, 1835-36	1
Wisconsin Territorial papers, 1836-38	1
Boston Transcript, 1842-50	3
Galena Jeffersonian, 1845-46	1
Boston Mail, 1846	1
Boston Advertiser, 1846-68	6
Boston Pilot, 1850-52	2
Waukesha Democrat, 1851-54	3
Willis' Current Notes, 1851-57	7
Boston Courier, 1855-61	8
Boston Bee, 1856	1
London Examiner, 1858	1
Christian Register, 1860-61	1
Southern Recorder, 1864-72	2
Woman's Journal, 1871	1
Christian Witness, 1871	1
Rural New Yorker, 1873	1
Prairie Farmer and Union, 1873	1
Cincinnati Gazette, 1873-74	2
Railroad Gazette, 1873-75	3
Kentucky Library Paper, 1873-74	1
The Nation, 1874-75	4
New York World, 1874-75	3
New York Tribune, 1874-75	3
Chicago Tribune, 1874-75	4
Chicago Times, 1875	2
Patent Office Gazette, 1875	1
Wisconsin Centennial Papers, 1876	4
Wisconsin Daily and Weekly papers, 1875-76	54
Total	203

Twenty-seven volumes of these newspaper additions pertain to the last century—the richest addition, of that period, the Society has ever made in a single year; making the total in the Library of the 17th century, 62 vols.; of the 18th, 361; of the present century, 2,247—grand total, 2,670.

The number of periodicals now received by the Society is 195, three less than last year; of which 3 are published quarterly, 12 monthly, 168 weekly, 2 semi-weekly, and 10 daily. Of these, 166 are published in Wisconsin, evincing the continued interest of the editors and publishers of our State in this invaluable department

of historical literature. About fifty years of unbound papers, mostly of Milwaukee, from 1845 to 1875, have been received from the estate of the late Dr. I. A. Lapham—valuable for the completion of the Society's Wisconsin files; and, from the same source, the Society is largely indebted for a generous donation of books and pamphlets. Fifty-four volumes of unbound papers, of various years, from 1809 to 1875, have been received, on exchange account, from the Boston Public Library. Other serials have been received, and laid aside for binding.

To the Map and Atlas Department have been added: Ohio County Atlases of Ashland, Butler, Champaign, Clark, Crawford, Guernsey, Licking, Logan, Medina, Morrow, Muskingum, Ottawa, Richland and Shelby; Historical Atlas of the Globe, including Atlas of Wood Co., Ohio; Anderson's Map of Ohio, 1841, on rollers; Doolittle & Munson's Map of Ohio, 1838, on rollers; Map of Loraine Co., Ohio, on rollers; Map of Wyandotte Co., Ohio, on rollers; Map of America, 1722, sheet form, folio; De Lisle's Map of Louisiana, 1718, sheet form; De Lisle's Map of Canada and New France, 1703, sheet form; Map of Louisiana and the Mississippi River, 1718, folio, sheet form; Bradley's Map of the United States, 1804—these obtained by purchase. Miscellaneous State and other maps, some in sheets and some in covers, from Dr. Lapham's estate, 52 in number; Australian map, in sheet form, from Hon. S. D. Hastings; mounted map of Eau Claire, from the city of Eau Claire, per R. F. Wilson; Keeler's National Map of United States Territories, from Hon. S. D. Hastings; maps and views accompanying message and documents of third session of 34th Congress, from Hon. S. D. Hastings; map and profile of Erie Canal, 1817, from Charles Lapham; map of the United States, 1876, on rollers, purchased. These additions, seventy-two in number, increase the Maps and Atlases to 648.

To summarize the Library additions: Bound newspaper files, 203; Magazines and Reviews, 172; British Patent Office Reports, 117; American Patent Office Reports, 14; European History and Literature, 200; Travels and Voyages, 30; American History in general, State and local histories, 183; Revolutionary War, 28; War of 1812, 11; Mexican and Indian wars, 8; Civil War of

1861-65, 67; Archaeology and Antiquities, 27; Indians and captivities, 86; Government explorations and expeditions, 33; Government documents and reports, 66; on Politics and Government, 27; Banking and Currency, 14; Columbus and his Discoveries, 15; Mexico and South America, 12; Canada and British Provinces, 41; Cyclopedias, 15; Directories, 105; Registers and Almanacs, 42; Wisconsin Documents, 16; Reports, Journals and Documents of other States, 133; Biography, 115; Bibliography, 22; Bound Atlases, 15; Historical and Learned Societies, 15; Genealogies, 37; Law and Law Literature, 20; Science and Natural History, 24; Education and Philology, 22; Medical works, 24; Religious History and Literature, 110; Masonic works, 7; Shakespearean Literature, 4; Poetry and Fiction, 14; unclassified, 14.

These additions of the year have been most important; secured among other sources, from the rich collections of Hon. Thos. H. Field and the late Samuel G. Drake—the largest ever made on Indian history and literature; and also from the collections of the late Hon. Thomas H. Wynne, of Virginia, and Capt. Wm. F. Goodwin, of New Hampshire, both efficiently connected with the historical societies of their respective states. These four rich collections, thrown upon the market, enabled our Society to secure many rare and important works, serving to fill up many a gap in our several departments.

Our newspaper files have received an unusually large increase—many invaluable ones of the last century, from 1720 to 1794, most of which it would be impossible to duplicate. Our department of directories, so important in tracing names for genealogical purposes, has received a large acquisition; and the same may be said of our Indian and American historical departments, as well as our collections on science, bibliography, genealogy, magazines and reviews, State documents, maps, and atlases. The valuable work on Wilkes' Exploring Expedition, with all its illustrative maps and drawings, finds a fitting place in our Library, transferred from the executive rooms, through Gov. Ludington's courtesy and kindness. Mr. Durrie's fine contribution of six unpublished folio volumes on Wisconsin history and topography, deserves, as it should receive, a special recognition.

Donors of Books and Pamphlets

	<i>Books.</i>	<i>Pamph.</i>
Albany Institute	2	2
Allen, W. F.	2	8
Appleton, W. S.	..	1
Armstrong, W. S.	..	1
Astor Library	..	1
Atwood, Gen. D.	..	2
Barron, Hon. H. D.	3	..
Barton, E. M.	3	..
Baxter, J. H. (Provost Marshal's Bureau)	2	..
Beloit College	..	2
Berryman, J. R.	1	..
Bodley, Miss R. C.	..	1
Boston Public Library	32	1
Bradlee, Rev. C. D.	..	1
Bradley, I. S.	..	2
British Government	117	..
Brooklyn Mercantile Library	..	1
Buck, James S.	1	..
Bunker Hill Monument Association	1	..
Butterfield, C. W.	..	1
Carpenter, Dr. J. H.	1	..
Carr, Hon. E. S.	1	..
Case, F. W.	..	16
Case, L. B.	..	1
Cheever, Hon. D. G.	1	16
Chicago & N. W. Railway	1	..
Clark, John A.	1	..
Clarke, Robert	1	..
Clement, John	..	1
Coast Survey Bureau	2	..
Colburn, Jeremiah	..	1
Colt, Mrs. Samuel	1	..
Crawford, Rev. William	..	3
Crosby, N.	..	1
Cudmore, P.	1	..
Curry, Rev. J. L. M.	..	1
Davenport Academy Nat. Science	1	..
Davis, W. B.	..	2
DePeyster, Gen. J. W.	..	5
Draper, L. C.	2	1
Draper, Solomon	..	1
Durrie, D. S.	6	3
Ellis, Gen. A. G.	1	..
Fillans, Miss W.	1	..
Fish, Hon. H., Secretary of State	4	..
Foster, E. J.	1	..
Garrison, W. P., Nation Office	33	233
Gasparin, Countess De	2	..
Georgia Historical Society	..	1
Goss E. H.	..	1
Gould, S. C.	..	9
Gray, Alfred	3	..
Green, Dr. S. A.	3	95
Hammond, Mrs. L. M.	1	..
Hartranft, Gov. J. F.	1	..
Hastings, Hon. S. D.	14	5
Hawkins, R. C.	..	1
Heyl, Lewis	1	..
Hills, L. B.	..	6
Horton, George F.	1	..

	<i>Books.</i>	<i>Pamph.</i>
Hoyt, Dr. J. W.	1	..
Humphrey, Gen. A. A.	5	..
Illinois, Secretary of State	1	..
Indianapolis Public Library	..	1
Ingalls, E. S.	1	..
Irish, Rev. J. E.	..	1
James, T. P.	..	1
Lapham, I. A., heirs of	26	1378
Lapham, S. G.	1	..
Lay, J. H.	..	1
Library of Congress	1	1
Linn, Hon. John B.	1	..
Littlejohn, F. J.	1	..
Loughridge, W. B.	2	..
Ludington, Hon. H.	1	..
Lyman, Theodore	..	1
Lyon, Isaac	1	..
Mann, Charles	..	2
Maryland Hist. Society	2	..
McGrath, Hon. M. K.	..	9
Massachusetts, Board of Education	1	..
Massachusetts, Board of Health	1	..
Massachusetts, Hist. Society	1	..
Massachusetts, Sec. of State	21	..
Michigan State Library	..	1
Miller, D. J.	..	1
Miller, Rev. W. G.	1	..
Minnesota Hist. Society	..	3
Missouri, Sec. of State	75	..
Munsell, Joel	..	15
Newberry, Prof. J. S.	1	..
Nesbit, James	..	2
New England Historic-Genealogical Society	..	2
New Hampshire, State Library	5	..
New York, Mercantile Library	1	..
New York, Regents of the University	6	..
Nicodemus, Prof. W. J. L.	1	..
Pardee, O. S.	..	3
Parker, Hon. C. D.	1	..
Parvin, T. S.	3	..
Patent Office, Washington	14	..
Peabody Institute	..	2
Peck, Mrs. R.	..	1
Pennsylvania, Board Pub. Charities	1	..
Pennsylvania Hist. Society	..	2
Perry, Rev. Dr. W. S.	..	13
Poole, W. F.	..	1
Putney, Maj. F. H.	..	3
Quincy, Miss E. S.	..	1
Quincy, Edmund	1	..
Quincy, Josiah	2	..
Quincy Public Library	1	..
Quincy, S. M.	1	..
Reeve, Dr. J. T.	..	1
Reynolds, Rev. S.	..	3
Rodgers, Com. C. R. P.	1	..
Rollins, John R.	1	..
Saffell, C. C.	16	56
Salisbury, Prof. A.	1	..
Searing, Hon. Edward	4	..
Secretary of the Interior, Washington	40	4
Shipman, Col. S. V.	3	30

	<i>Books.</i>	<i>Pamph.</i>
Simms, J. R.	..	1
Slaughter, Col. W. B.	..	1
Smithsonian Institute	4	..
Solberg, T. C.	..	28
Starbuck, A.	..	2
Starbuck, W. S.	..	8
Starr, Elisha	1	..
Sterling, Prof. J. W.	1	..
Stone & Cramer	1	..
Stone, Rev. E. M.	..	1
Tenney, Hon. H. A.	21	7
Thomas, Mrs. M. Louise	4	..
Thomson, Peter G.	..	1
Toner, Dr. J. M.	..	1
Towne, W. B.	1	..
Tuttle, Charles R.	2	..
Unknown	1	..
Vaill, C. D.	..	1
Van Slyke, N. B.	..	1
Vermont Historical Society	..	1
Vermont State Library	5	..
Vilas, Dr. C. H.	1	..
Wentworth, Hon. J.	1	..
Whittlesey, Col. Charles	..	2
Williams, J.	..	1
Wisconsin, from State	54	12
Wisconsin Centennial Commission	5	..
Yohn, Albert B.	1	..

Art Gallery

Seven portraits, in oil, have been added to the gallery. One of Alexander J. Irwin, an early Green Bay pioneer, painted by C. W. Heyd, in gilt frame, from his widow, Mrs. Frances Irwin; Gen. A. G. Ellis, painted by his daughter, presented by the General; Richard H. Magoon, an early Wisconsin pioneer, who shared in the Black Hawk War, and was the first person in Wisconsin to suggest the formation of a historical society; Elisha Starr, a Milwaukee pioneer of 1836, presented by Mr. Starr; Gen. Wm. L. Utley, painted by Alfred Payne, in gilt frame, from Gen. Utley; the late Dr. Geo. R. McLane, of Waukesha, painted by S. M. Brookes, deposited by Chief Justice Ryan; portrait of C. S. Rafinesque, the naturalist, purchased. Also a photograph of Timothy Johnson, the first settler of Watertown, from Mrs. D. W. Ballou; photograph of Gen. John A. Sutter, the pioneer discoverer of gold in California, from A. Menges, Esq.

There are now one hundred and six oil paintings in the art gallery.

Additions to the Cabinet

Antiquities.—A copper spear, with a barb near the point, the only one of the kind in the Society's collection, found in Fond du Lac County, from G. DeNevue; a copper chisel, ten inches long, bevelled on one side, a fine specimen; a small copper axe, a small flint arrow-head, and a stone implement, five inches wide and ten long, perhaps a breast plate, all found in a mound near Lake Chetek, Barron County, from Hon. Wm. Wilson; a copper spear, large size, splendid specimen, from Mons Anderson, La Crosse; two flint spear-heads, found two miles southwest of Monroe, Green County, twenty-one feet below the surface, from J. T. Dodge; four stone axes, and other tools, deposited by Isaac Allds, Necedah, Juneau County; a stone axe from Hon. J. F. Hand, Lowville, Columbia County; fragments of ancient pottery found on a hill at Blue Mounds, from Wm. Carroll; fragment of ancient pottery found near Whitney's Rapids, Wood County, from Hon. M. M. Strong; a small red stone pipe, found in Dane, Dane County, from G. H. Stewart; a stone axe, edge partially broken, found on premises of Gen. E. E. Bryant, near Lake Monona, town of Madison, presented by Gen. Bryant; crania from Grant River, near Lancaster, from H. S. Keene; bones from a mound on the premises of G. H. Durrie, near Madison, also fragments of pottery, including a portion of a pot—the largest in the Society's collection, from Mr. Durrie; cast of an ancient war axe, also of the section of a swivel, found at Starved Rock, Illinois, four inches in diameter and thirteen long, from D. F. Hitt and Gibbs, Ottawa, Ill.; three copper arrows, twenty-four stone arrows, two stone hammers or axes, three stone wedges, two shells, and eight fragments of ancient pottery, a valuable contribution from J. D. Holman, Waupaca; and a portion of a red stone pipe, found near the red-stone quarry, Pipestone County, Minn., from W. S. Taylor.

Autographs, etc.—Autograph signature of William Williams, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, from Dr. J. H. Carpenter; autograph letter of Hon. Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, to G. D. A. Parks, of Lockport, N. Y., July 1, 1833, from Hon. Daniel Hall, Watertown; commission of Gov. Henry Dodge to W. T. Sterling as Territorial Librarian, June 25,

1838, countersigned by W. B. Slaughter, Secretary, from Mr. Sterling by J. P. Switzer; two commissions of Gov. Dodge, both to Chauncey H. Peak, one as Justice of the Peace of Milwaukee County, Feb. 8, 1839, the other as First Lieutenant of the Fourth Company of the Third Regiment of Wisconsin Militia, March 31, 1840; a burial ground deed, in west ward of Milwaukee, to C. H. Peak, Aug. 29, 1839, signed by Elisha Starr as President of the Trustees of Milwaukee, witnessed and acknowledged by I. A. Lapham; also a circular for the formation of a Public Library in Milwaukee, April, 1846, and a remonstrance against the route of a road along the shore of Lake Michigan, no date, all from Wm. Peak, through Hon. J. E. Thomas, Sheboygan Falls.

Coin and Currency.—Twelve skilling Danish silver coin, 1717, from M. Michelet, Pleasant Springs; a Chinese note, from E. S. Chase; and the following from C. C. Saffell, Baltimore: Pennsylvania Colonial bill, five shillings, Oct. 1, 1773; Continental bill, two-thirds of a dollar, Feb. 17, 1776; another of same amount, May 9, 1776; Massachusetts bill, two dollars, dated in 1780; State Bank, Morris, N. J., one dollar, 1820; shinplaster, Borough of Liverpool, twenty-five cents, 1857; Bank of Virginia, Staunton, three five dollar bills, April, 1860; Monticello Bank, five dollars, Nov., 1860; Corporation of Richmond, Va., two dollars, April, 1861; N. W. Bank of Virginia, Jefferson, one dollar, 1862; Rockingham Co., Virginia, twenty-five cents, 1862; Confederate States, ten dollars, Feb., 1864; also several old documents.

Natural History Specimens.—Molten lead from the Chicago fire, and sea salt, from E. R. Bristol; a section of a honey locust tree, from Clinton Co., Ohio, from W. R. Paget; petrified wood from Nebraska, from I. S. Bradley; olive wood from Jerusalem, manufactured into a crucifix, from Hon. D. G. Cheever; a small horned frog from Texas, from J. J. Heim; float copper, weighing twenty ounces, found on grounds of E. H. Huntington, Madison, from Frank Huntington; lead mineral, fossils, and horn of young deer, from Hon. M. M. Strong; Spanish moss from the Gulf of Mexico, buffalo hair or wool, from James McCloud; specimens of various kinds of wood from Alexander Co., Ill., arranged on card, from Hon. D. G. Cheever; specimen of pure copper, about four ounces

in weight, found on the bluffs, in Coloma, Waushara County, while grading for Wisconsin Central Railroad, from J. A. Murat; spedle iron slag from furnace of Madison Manufacturing Company, from J. W. Hudson; twenty-two samples of tin ore, from Queensland, and New South Wales, copper ore from Burra-Burra Mine, South Australia, antimony from Victoria, Australia, gold bearing quartz, from New Zealand, flax and hemp, and paper made from the same, from Hon. S. D. Hastings; a glass tube containing borings of the artesian well at Prairie du Chien, showing the successive strata to the depth of 960 feet, from Hon. Horace Beach; a specimen of lizard, from T. G. Good; a sample of cotton grown at Palmyra, Wis., from Mrs. O. P. Dow.

Miscellaneous.—A skull found in Waupaca County, from Hon. Myron H. Reed; a portion of a hub and springs of a buggy carried five-eighths of a mile by the tornado at Hazel Green, Wis., in the spring of 1876; fourteen small photograph views of Santa Fé and New Mexico, from Miss Priscilla Jones; four photograph views of pontoon bridge, artesian well, etc., at Prairie du Chien, from H. R. Farr; thirty bullets taken from buffalo or bison skins, imbedded in the hide or wool, from Hon. D. G. Cheever; a pair of bead moccasins taken from the feet of the Sioux chief Black Kettle, after he was killed by Gen. Custer's party, in an engagement with the savages, preceding the one in which that officer lost his life, and Black Kettle's red stone pipe, also an Algerine newspaper in Arabic, from James Hewitt, through C. W. Butterfield; a fine chromo view of Starved Rock, on the Illinois River, where the old French fort of St. Louis was located, and famous as the spot where a portion of the Illinois tribe were starved to death rather than surrender to their Indian enemies who besieged the place, from W. K. Cash; a steel engraving of Gov. R. B. Hayes, from E. B. Bolens; a squid used for catching mackerel, from Henry Conover; a photograph of ferns and casts of two specimens of natural history, from D. F. Hitt & Gibbs, Ottawa, Ill.

A New Volume of Collections

The new volume of the Society's *Collections*, the seventh in our series, embraces several very important additions to Wisconsin history—notably the papers of Mr. Tassé and Gen. Ellis. Mr.

Tassé has taken unusual pains to add to the knowledge of the interesting career of Charles de Langlade, the first settler of Wisconsin, written in the French language, and most creditably translated by Mrs. Sarah Fairchild Dean. Prof. Butler kindly aided in making translations of some revisions, in the absence of Mrs. Dean from the city. As this paper must prove the basis of our Wisconsin history, too much credit cannot be awarded Mr. Tassé for his unwearied efforts in its production; and to Mrs. Dean and Prof. Butler for their kind assistance in giving it an appropriate English translation. The other papers in the volume, varied in their character, will necessarily commend themselves to the lovers of our early history and historic men of Wisconsin.

The manuscript contributions of the year need not be specified in detail, as all, save a paper on early recollections of Wisconsin, by the late Hon. John Phelps, appear in the new volume just issued.

Contributions for Exchanges

One hundred copies of *Wisconsin in the Centennial*, from the Centennial Commissioners; a large number of reports of the Wisconsin Editorial Association, through Hon. James Ross, secretary; 100 copies of *Transactions* of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society for 1875; 25 copies of *Transactions* of the State Horticultural Society; 50 copies each of the Governor's Message and Documents, Journals of the Senate and Assembly, and of the Laws of Wisconsin for 1876, in 2 vols.; and 45 copies of the Legislative Manual for 1876, from the State; 2 copies each of Whitford's *Hist. of Education in Wisconsin*, Salisbury's *Normal Schools*, Carpenter's *University of Wisconsin*, Chapin's *Colleges of Wisconsin*, and three copies of *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1875, from Hon. Edward Searing; 25 copies of Stennett's *Northwest Illustrated*, 1876, from Chicago and Northwestern Railway; 24 copies of the *Statutes of Congress*, 1875-76, from Gov. Ludington; 10 copies of Crawford's *Forty Years of the Presbyterian Church of Green Bay*; and 20 copies of Durrie's *Historical Sketch of the Presbyterian Church of Madison*.

Library Improvements

Early in the past year, the two towers of the south wing of the capitol, were properly fitted up, by direction of the governor, one for the reception of our large collection of prehistoric antiquities of Wisconsin, of the stone and copper age, and the other for the better arrangement of our maps, and bound files of Milwaukee newspapers. Additional desks have been provided, with closet room beneath. These improvements have been both timely and convenient.

The Centennial

Our exhibit at the Centennial embraced nearly all of our prehistoric implements, and the more important portion of our large collection of the stone age—154 coppers; 2,890 stone implements; also 39 fragments of ancient pottery, and several human bones taken from a mound in Polk County. This archaeological collection attracted deserved attention—the more so, as the number of copper prehistoric findings are more numerous than any collection known to have been made. Prof. Butler went to Philadelphia as our archaeological commissioner, arranging their display; and E. T. Sweet, M. S., had charge of the collection during the exhibition, and deserves the Society's thanks for his faithful watchful care over it.

Library Work

The librarian and assistants have well acquitted themselves in the discharge of their routine duties; in keeping up the increasing labor of cataloguing the steady accretions to the Library; attending to the system of exchanges with kindred institutions; keeping the serial publications arranged for binding, and giving proper attention to the wants of visitors. And Mr. Isaac Lyon, though now eighty-two years of age, is as unremitting as ever in his voluntary and unrequited attentions to visitors of the cabinet department, of which he has for over five years had the charge.

Conclusion

In concluding our twenty-third annual report, we can but renew our firm conviction of the large and diversified good the So-

ciety is accomplishing; in gathering and disseminating the history of Wisconsin; in collecting and preserving our current newspaper files; furnishing resources for investigators in our varied departments of learning; and in aiding the students of our State University in their preliminary training for spheres of future trust and usefulness.

Such an institution, whose opportunities for extending its beneficent labors are constantly on the increase, needs enlarged facilities. A new building is one of its wants, which, with a return of general prosperity, will undoubtedly be provided, because its necessity and utility are alike so obvious; while another equally important matter—the binding fund—should be nurtured by every means we can devise—a fund that should be regarded as the result of the free-will offerings of the Society's friends within and beyond the limits of Wisconsin.

Has not the Society friends who will remember it with generous benefactions? John Jacob Astor and his son devoted hundreds of thousands of dollars to the founding of a public library; and their example is being followed by James Lenox, a gentleman of New York City, of large benevolence. The late George Peabody gave, altogether, a million and four hundred thousand dollars to found an institute of science, literature, and the fine arts, in Baltimore; and two hundred and twenty thousand dollars to establish an institute, lyceum and library in his native town of Danvers, Massachusetts. The late Hon. Samuel Appleton bequeathed ten thousand dollars to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Mr. Peabody as much more; Elliott Cresson that amount to the Pennsylvania Historical Society; and the late Henry D. Gilpin considerably more for the benefit of the Pennsylvania and Chicago historical societies. Within a few months, the late F. C. T. Smith bequeathed ten thousand dollars to the New Hampshire Historical Society. Hon. Stephen Salisbury donated five thousand dollars to the American Antiquarian Society for binding purposes alone.

We have been ten years trying to establish a binding fund for our Society, and it has not yet reached five thousand dollars—not half what it should be, to enable its income to meet all the wants

of the Society in this direction. Let us hope that you, men of Wisconsin, who are in comfortable circumstances, will yet do something worthy to perpetuate your names and memories, by providing liberal donations and bequests to our Society. It will deservedly secure you a reputation more enduring than brass or marble, and far more useful to humanity than all the wealth you could transmit to your offspring—for wealth thus bestowed, oftener proves a curse than a blessing.

Twenty-fourth Annual Report¹

The past year has, by purchases, gifts and exchanges, brought its accustomed additions to the Library. Books, pamphlets and periodicals have been multiplied, the portrait gallery enriched, the cabinet and prehistoric collection largely increased, and new augmentations made to the manuscript stores of our Wisconsin history.

Financial Condition—Binding Fund

The receipts of the year into the general fund, as shown by the Treasurer's report, including the small balance of the previous year, have been \$5,014.25; and the disbursements, \$4,997.81, leaving an unexpended balance of \$16.44.

During the year, the binding fund has received but four donations—\$50 from Hon. Andrew Proudfit, the balance of a pledge of one hundred dollars to this fund; \$20 from Rev. R. M. Hodges, D. D., one of our honorary vice-presidents, being the sixth annual contribution of that amount; \$20 from "A Friend;" and \$5 from Hon. Philo White; duplicate books and pamphlets sold, \$272.95; accrued interest, \$351.45; annual membership dues, net, \$75.70; thus showing an addition of \$795.10, and making the total present amount of this important fund, \$5,595.51.

The promised gift of six hundred and forty acres of Texas land, for the benefit of this fund, by the late Hon. John Catlin, has recently been kindly conveyed to the Society by Mrs. Catlin and

¹ Submitted January 2, 1878.

daughter, and the deed sent to Coleman, the county seat of the county of that name, in which the land is located, for record. It is a new county, just organized, and is represented as a thriving region, where stock-raising is the chief industry, but where wool-growing and farming are steadily advancing. This noble gift will eventually prove a fine addition to our binding fund, and will serve yet more strongly to embalm Mr. Catlin's memory in our affections; and to Mrs. Catlin and daughter is our Society deeply indebted for their kind attention in consummating the liberal intentions of the donor.

It will be a happy day for the Society when this binding fund shall reach the hoped for amount, the income of which will provide for the needful binding of books, pamphlets, magazines, reviews and newspaper files, many of which are now necessarily laid aside till this resource shall become available. No friend of the Society can render it more acceptable service than by contributing to the binding fund, even though the amount should be but small.

Library Additions

The Library additions of the year have been 1,818 volumes, of which 1,260 were acquired by purchase, and 558 by donation and exchange; and 5,090 pamphlets, of which 2,848 were secured by donation, exchange and mounting newspaper slips, and 2,242 by purchase. Of the book additions, 260 were folios and 120 quartos; increasing the number of folios in the Library to 2,649, and the quartos to 3,069, and both to 5,718.

Progressive Library Increase

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table:

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in Library.
1854, Jan. 1 . .	50	.	50	50
1855, Jan. 2 . .	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1 . .	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, Jan. 6 . .	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, Jan. 1 . .	1,024	959	1,983	8,403
1859, Jan. 4 . .	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3 . .	1,800	723	2,523	12,533
1861, Jan. 2 . .	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2 . .	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2 . .	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, Jan. 2 . .	248	356	604	19,346
1865, Jan. 3 . .	529	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2 . .	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3 . .	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4 . .	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1 . .	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, Jan. 4 . .	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, Jan. 3 . .	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
1872, Jan. 2 . .	1,211	3,789	5,000	50,530
1873, Jan. 2 . .	2,166	1,528	3,694	54,224
1874, Jan. 2 . .	1,852	1,178	3,030	57,254
1875, Jan. 2 . .	1,945	1,186	3,131	60,385
1876, Jan. 4 . .	2,851	1,764	4,615	65,000
1877, Jan. 2 . .	2,820	2,336	5,156	70,156
1878, Jan. 2 . .	1,818	5,090	6,908	77,064
Total . .	36,957	40,107	77,064	.

Principal Book Additions

American History and Literature.—Columbus and Vespucci, Voyages to America, facsimile copies, 7 vols., folio; Le Moine's Florida Expedition of 1564; Margry's Discovery and Establishment of the French in America, 1614-85, 2 vols. 4to.; Stevens' Two Thousand American Nuggets, 1490-1800; Mission du Canada, 1672-1779, 2 vols.; Journal and Letters of Eliza Lucas, of South Carolina, 1739-61; Proceedings Relative to Captain Kidd, 1701, 4to.; Ellis' Voyages to Hudson's Bay, 1746-47; Indian Treaties made by Sir Wm. Johnson, 1755-56; Crespel's Travels in North America [Wisconsin], 1728, etc.; Gov. Bernard's Letters

to Gen. Gage and others, 1769, 2 vols.; Backus' History of New England, and the Baptist Church, 1777-96, 3 vols.; Connecticut Public Records, 1751; Chevalier Johnstone's Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745-46; Marquis Du Quesne Vindicated, 1728; Bancroft's Native Races of the Pacific States, 5 vols.; J. Adams' Political Essays, 1774-75; Enquiry into the Conduct of Gen. Burgoyne, and his Reply, 1777, 2 vols.; Gen. Burgoyne's Military Orders, 1780; Cookings' American War, 1781; Clinton's Reply to Lord Cornwallis, 1783; Gilbert's Indian Captivity, 1790; Debates in Congress on Jay's Treaty, 1794; American Remembrancer (Jay's Treaty), 1795; Adventures of Gen. Du. Portail, 1797; Callender's History of U. S., 1797; Callender's Letters to Alexander Hamilton.

New Hampshire State Registers, 1798-1873, 45 vols.; Livingston's Eminent Americans, 4 vols.; Ammidown's Historical Collections, 2 vols.; Tomes' War with the South, 3 vols., 4to.; Barnes' Biographies, etc. of 43d Congress, 3 vols., 4to.; Lives of Chief Fathers of New England, 6 vols.; Tomes' Battles of America, 3 vols., 4to.; Friends' Annual Monitor, 1855-63, 7 vols.; Drake's Ms. Book of Autographs, 4to.; Foote's Bench and Bar of the South, 2 vols.; Duvallon's Spanish Colonies of the Mississippi, 1802; Goodenough's Ohio Northern Boundary; O'Neill's Bench and Bar of South Carolina, 2 vols.; Mahan's History of Amer. War. 1877; Peters' History of Conn.; Heckewelder's Indian Nations; Confederate Public Documents, 1863; The Balloting Book—N. Y. Military Bounty Lands, folio; Controversy between H. Laurens and E. Jennings, 2 vols.; Gen. Dearborn and Mr. Swett on Battle of Bunker Hill; Biographical Cyclopedia of Penn., 4to.; Centennial Records, Women of Wisconsin, 4to.; Maine Historical Collections, 2 vols.; Carli's American Letters, 1788, 2 vols.; Mori's Life and Resources in America; Parton's Sketches of Men of Progress, 4to.; Bourne's History of Wells and Kennebunk; Wilder's Annals of Kansas; Young's History of Warsaw, N. Y.; Fullonton's History of Raymond, N. H.; Young's History of Mexico, 1520-1847; McSherry's Letters on the History of Maryland; Winfield's History of County of Hudson, N. J.; Pearce's Annals of Luzerne Co., Pa.; Good-

rich and Tuttle's History of Indiana; McKnight's Our Western Border; Hough's American Constitutions of States, 2 vols.; Lanman's Biographical Annals of Civil Government of U. S.; Ball's History of Lake Co., Ind.; Bowen's America Discovered by the Welsh; Andrews' Tour in Minnesota, 1856; Montgomery's History of Jay Co., Ind.

Morris' Rambles in Rocky Mountains, 1864; Tuttle's History of Border Wars; Hunter's Western Border Life; Voyage to Kentucky, 1821; Anderson's British American Colonies, 1814; Sanborn's History of New Hampshire; Van Ness' Examination of Charges against Aaron Burr, 1803; Captivity of Mrs. Lewis in Black Hawk War; Buck's History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania; Captivity of Mrs. Plummer, 1838; Lucas' Charters of Old English Colonies in America; Tour through Virginia, Tennessee, etc., 1828; Cheetham on Conduct of Aaron Burr; Vindication of John Adams, 1800; Royce's Protestant Episcopal Church in United States, 1859; Ross' Expedition to Oregon, etc., 1849; Schermerhorn's View of United States West of Alleghanies, 1814; Hough's Northern Invasion, 1780; Mill's History of Mexico; Gordon's Historic Memoir, North American Continent, 1820, 4to.; Nevin's Men of Cumberland Valley; Hawley's Travels to Western Reserve, etc., 1822; History of the Western World, 2 vols.; Gray and Glazier's History of Gardiner, Massachusetts; Sanford's History of Berkley, Massachusetts; Holloway's History of Kansas; Brook's History of Mexican War; McMahon's Historical View Maryland; Shurtleff's History of Boston; Martin's History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; Banvard's Pioneers of Maryland; Landai's Memorial, 1777; Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania; Lytle's History of Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania; Curley's History Nebraska; Baker's Texas Scrap Book; Fairchild's Cuyahoga Falls; Duis' History McLean County, Illinois; Butler's Great Lone Land; Bryant's History of United States; Atkinson's Kanawha County, Virginia; Wilkinson's History of Binghampton, New York; Hanson's History of Old Kent, Maryland; Davis' History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania; Beach's Indian Miscellany; Beach's History of Cornwall, New York; Masten's History of Cohoes; Steinwehr's Centennial

Gazetteer of United States; Doty's History of Livingston County, New York; Stone's History of New York City; Kinzie's Wau-bun, 2d edition; History of Kent County, Michigan; Erwin's History of Williamson County, Illinois; The First Century of the Republic; Smith's History of Guilford, Connecticut; Life and Correspondence of R. Cartwright; Johnson's History of Erie County, New York; Buck's History of Milwaukee; Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 1877, 2 vols.; Ball's History of Lake County, Indiana; Sanderson's History of Charlestown, New Hampshire; Hunt's History of Coshocton County, Ohio; Maine Historical Society Collections, 2 vols.; Hemenway's Vermont Historical Gazetteer; Larned's History of Windham County, Connecticut; Parkman's Count Frontenac; Egle's History of Pennsylvania; Bingham's History of Green County, Wisconsin; Stone's Burgoyne Campaign; Nason's History of Dunstable, Massachusetts; Park & Company's History of Madison and Dane County, Wisconsin; and Weiss' History of Troy, New York.

English and Continental History and Literature.—Neander's Church History, 10 vols.; Reports of Royal Commission, England, on Historical Mss., 1874-77, 8 vols., folio; Inedited Documents on French History, 7 vols., 4to.; Reed's Lectures on British Poets, 4 vols.; Wilson's Traditionary Tales of Scotland, 3 vols., 4to.; Walpole's Reign of George III., 2 vols.; Ancient Irish Histories, 1571-96, 4to.; Bennett's History of Dissenters, 2 vols.; Buchanan's History of Scotland, 1827, 4 vols.; Wrottlesey's Life of Sir John Burgoyne, 2 vols.; Memoirs Relative to French Revolution, 1824, 2 vols.; Nicholas' Annals and Antiquities of Wales, 2 vols.; History of British Empire, 1765-83, 2 vols.; Kemble's State Papers of State of Europe, 1686-1707; Borbstaedt's Franco-German War, 1873; Dumas' Memoirs of his own Time, 1829, 2 vols.; Earll's Native Races of Indian Archipelago; Echard's History English Revolution, 1688; D'Alton's History County of Dublin; Geijer's History of the Swedes; Parkyns' Monastic and Baronial History, etc., 2 vols.

Works on Science, etc.—Rafinesque's Botanical and other works, 14 vols.; Hitchcock's Mass. Geological Reports, 1838-42,

6 vols.; Journal of Franklin Institute of Pa., 1828-46, 38 vols.; Timms' Year Books of Science and Art, 1839-71, 11 vols.; Manchester (Eng.) Literary and Philosophical Society Memoirs, 5 vols.; Geological Survey of Kentucky, 4 vols.; Proceedings of American Academy of Arts and Science, 1846-60, 4 vols.; Memoirs Royal Society Northern Antiquaries, 1840-44; Catalogue of Museum of Royal Irish Academy; Clarke's Serpent and Siva Worship; Blavatsky's Isis Unveiled, or Ancient and Modern Science, 2 vols.; International Congress on Pre-Historic Archaeology; Spinetto on Hieroglyphics and Egyptian Antiquities; and Geology of Wisconsin, 1873-77, 4to.

Cyclopedias.—Appleton's New American Cyclopedia, 10 vols.; Zell's Popular Cyclopedia, 2 vols., 4to.; Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia, concluding 3 vols., 4to.; Beeton's Cyclopedia, 2 vols.; McClintock's and Strong's Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature, vol. 7; Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia for 1876; and Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable.

Genealogies.—Addington Family, Alden, Annin, Bisbee, Bolton, Booth, Bradford, Caldwell, Cary, Coit, Colden, Crosby, Dwight (in 2 vols.), Eddy, Folsom, Griscom, Heacock, Hubbard, Hutchinson & Marbury, Kirk, Lapham, Lloyd & Carpenter, Mendenhall, Monroe, Newton, Payne & Gore, Pierce, Potts, Ricker, Robinson, Harwood & Clarke, Spalding, Sweet, Talcott, Upton, Valentine & Wight; also Bardsley's English Surnames, and New Haven Burial Ground (3 vols.).

Miscellaneous.—Biblia Pauperum, reproduced in facsimile, folio; Inquiry into Supernatural Religion, 2 vols.; Works of Count Agenor De Gasparin, 3 vols.; Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, 1803, 4to.; Taylor's History of Transmission of Ancient Books; Kavanagh's Origin of Language; Wall's Examination of Ancient Jewish Orthography, 4 vols., folio; Hicksite Controversy, 1831, 2 vols.

Periodical Literature.—National Magazine, 1852-58, 13 vols.; Loudon's Magazine of Nat. History, 1829-37, 11 vols.; Howitt's People's Journal, 1846-48, 7 vols.; Notes and Queries, 1871-76, 12 vols. 4to.; U. S. Catholic Magazine, 1843-47, 5 vols.; Court Miscellany, 1769-71, 3 vols.; N. Y. Journal of Medicine, 1843-55,

25 vols.; Boston Monthly Anthology, 1806-10, 5 vols.; U. S. Army and Navy Journal, 1863-71, 8 vols.; Smith's Military Repository, 1796-97; Hutching's California Magazine, 1856-59, 3 vols.; Moral Advocate, 1822-24; The Friend, 1832; Smith's Weekly Volume, Phila., 1805; Spirit of the Pilgrims, 1828-31, 6 vols.; Patent Office Gazette, 1875, 2 vols.; N. American Review, 2 vols.; Living Age, 2 vols.; American Journal of Science, 1858-60, 63, 1871-73, 10 vols.; N. England Hist. Register, 1876; Wis. Journal of Education, 4 vols.; Publishers' Weekly, 1874-76, 5 vols.; U. S. Literary Gazette, 1825-27, 5 vols.; London Statistical Society, 1842; Potter's American Monthly, 1876, 2 vols.; Old and New, 1870-74, 4 vols.; Godey's Lady's Book, 1862, 63, 65-68, 5 vols.; Ladies' Repository, 1841-44, 4 vols.; Gentleman's Magazine, 1838-39, 3 vols.; National Recorder, 1819-21, 5 vols.; Old Guard, 1863, 1 vol.; To-Day, a Boston Literary Journal, 1852, 2 vols.; N. Y. Weekly Museum, 1815.

Unbound Newspapers and Serials.—Harpers' Weekly, 1857-75, 20 vols., complete, purchased; Boston Index, Feb., 1873-May, 1877, from E. Burdick; The Balance, Hudson, N. Y., March, 1802; three numbers of Voree Herald, published by the Mormons in Wisconsin, 1843-47, from Hon. M. P. Lindsley; American Journal of Science, July-Dec., 1872, purchased; Popular Science Monthly, May, 1872-Nov., 1874, purchased; National Quarterly Review, 1861-74, 23 numbers, purchased; The Old and New, vol. 6, from Rev. E. E. Hale; Cumberland Presbyterian Church Quarterly, vol. 12, 1876, from Rev. Dr. J. B. Lindsley; Gardeners' Monthly, 1874-75, and Historical Magazine, 1857-61, from Dr. Lapham's estate; American Apollo, 1782, purchased; Harpers' Magazine, Dec., 1876-Feb., 1877, from C. P. Chapman; American Missionary, 1867-76, incomplete; Christian World, 1861-76, complete; American and Foreign Christian Union, 1860; Missionary Herald, 1874-76, and Home Missionary, 1864-77, all from Hon. Geo. W. Bradford; Scribner's Monthly, 1870-76, incomplete, purchased; Catholic World, 1865-76, incomplete, purchased; Transactions of Royal Society, London, 3 parts, 1853, 1860 and 1861, purchased; The Galaxy, incomplete, 1867-74, purchased.

Maps and Atlases.—Walling's Atlas of Wisconsin, 1876, 4to.; Warner & Foote's Atlas of Grant County, Wis., 1877, 4to.; Warner & Foote's Map of Monroe County, Wis., 1877, on rollers; Atlas of State of N. Y., 1838; Blanchard's Map of U. S. Territorial Acquisitions, 1877; Zeno's Maps of Northern Seas, etc., 1588, 3 maps; Illustrated Atlas of Indiana, 1876, 4to.; Moll's Atlas Manuale, 1713, folio; and Moll's Atlas Minor, 1732, folio. Also sixty-four maps, various, in sheet form, from Dr. Lapham's estate, showing an addition of 75 Atlases and Maps, and making the whole collection 123.

Bound Newspaper Files.—The following additions indicate their number, and the period of their publication:

	<i>Years.</i>	<i>Vols.</i>
Lloyd's Evening Post	1758-69	20
Penn. Packet and Daily Advertiser	1788-90	3
Penn. Daily Advertiser	1791-95	4
Boston Federal Orrery	1795-96	1
Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser	1797-99	3
Vermont Journal	1798	1
Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser	1800-07	8
New York Herald	1802-05	1
Philadelphia Political and Commercial Register	1804-07	3
Vermont Journal	1811-13	1
Baltimore Patriot and Advertiser	1813-15	6
Albany Christian Visitant	1815-16	1
Washington National Intelligencer	1816-22	3
Charleston, S. C., Sunday Visitant	1818-19	1
New England Galaxy	1819-20	1
Vermont Journal	1820-21	1
New York Minerva	1822-25	5
Burlington, N. J., Saturday Evening Visitor	1825	1
Richmond, Va., Enquirer	1829-31	2
Philadelphia Banner of the Constitution	1830-32	2
Albany Zodiac	1835-36	1
New York Albion	1840-58	9
Albany Tocsin of Liberty, and Weekly Patriot	1842-43	1
Scientific American	1853-54	4
Vanity Fair	1861	1
Annual Financial Review	1870	1
Railway Monitor	1873	1
Chicago Industrial Age	1873-75	1
Boston Advertiser	1873-75	1
Chicago Standard	1874-75	1
Cincinnati Gazette	1875	1
Congressional Record	1875	8
Chicago Times	1875-77	8
Chicago Tribune	1875-77	9
New York World	1875-77	9
New York Tribune	1875-77	7
Chicago Railway Gazette	1876	1
Wisconsin daily and weekly papers	1874-77	102
Total		234

Thirty-two volumes of these newspaper additions are of the last century; making the total in the Library of the seventeenth century, 62 volumes; of the eighteenth century, 393 volumes; of the present century, 2,449; grand total, 2,904.

The number of periodicals now received by the Society is 209, fourteen more than last year; of which 4 are quarterlies, 12 monthlies, 2 semi-monthlies, 180 weeklies, 2 semi-weeklies, and 9 dailies. Of these 181 are published in Wisconsin, a noble contribution from the editors and publishers of our State.

Pamphlet Additions.—The pamphlet additions of the year have been unusually large, more so than in any preceding year, with a single exception. We should never weary in attesting their value, and urging their preservation and contribution to our archives. "Pamphlets," says Lord Beaconsfield, "those leaves of an hour, and volumes of a season, and even of a week, slight and evanescent as they appear, and scorned at by opposite parties, while each cherishes its own, are in truth the records of the public mind, the secret history of a people which does not always appear in the more open narrative."

In a report on Harvard Library, by the late librarian, J. Langdon Sibley, it was justly said, that though they often require more time and labor to collect than the same number of volumes, and are constantly said to cost more than they are worth, yet they contain information not elsewhere to be found; they reflect the spirit and sentiments of the age better than elaborate treatises, and are indispensable treasures in a good public library, where eminent historians, biographers, staticians, statesmen and men of letters, in general, naturally look for whatever may shed light on the subjects of their investigation. They are so small, too, that they are likely to be torn in pieces, and every copy of entire editions to disappear.

"The correctness of these statements," adds Mr. Sibley, "is confirmed by the action of the Bodleian Library, which is paying fabulous prices for pamphlets and books that its founder did not think worth preserving, and of the British Museum, which is doing the same for what could have been procured a century ago for little more than the asking—the rubbish of one generation being the

treasure of another. It is, therefore, desirable at once, so far as practicable, to secure at least for a few public libraries, copies of everything which is printed, for in the mysterious diversity of human investigations, there is nothing which may not at some time be important."

When a single paper mill, in a single year, has been known to grind up ninety-eight tons of books and pamphlets, with about the same quantity of newspapers, we may well be admonished of the danger of the utter loss of many important pamphlet publications, and to plead for their contribution to our collection.

SUMMARY OF LIBRARY ADDITIONS

	<i>Volts.</i>
Bound newspaper files	234
Magazines and Reviews	189
American History and Travel	137
American Local History	111
State Histories and documents	241
United States documents and surveys	154
American Civil War	79
Historical and learned Societies	21
Biography	108
Genealogy	41
European History, etc.	55
American Indians	27
Antiquities and Archæology	7
British Patent Reports	56
American Patent Reports	14
Cyclopedias and Dictionaries	20
Language and Literature	18
Bibliography	13
Political Economy, Banking, etc.	20
Canadian History	9
Politics and Government	47
Religious History, etc.	69
Education	21
Science	42
Medical Literature	13
Secret Societies	3
International Exhibition	9
Directories	24
Poetry, etc.	16
Bound Atlases	6
Almanacs	2
Miscellaneous	12
Total book additions	1,818

Donors of Books and Pamphlets

	<i>Books.</i>	<i>Pamph.</i>
Agnew, Samuel	..	1
Allen, Prof. W. F.	3	..
Allen, Rev. Z.	1	..
American Board—Foreign Missions	..	11
Andover Theological Seminary	..	1
Andrews, Prest. J. W.	..	3
Astor Library	..	1
Baird, Henry C.	..	6
Bancroft, H. H.	5	..
Bangs & Co.	..	6
Barber, Geo. W.	..	4
Barber, J. W.	1	..
Barnes, Hon. M.	1	..
Bartlett, S. C.	..	1
Bascom, Prest. John	..	1
Bates, Phineas, Jr.	1	..
Battle, K. P.	..	2
Bean, Theo. W.	..	1
Beloit College	..	2
Bigelow, Hon. John	2	1
Bingham, Miss H. M.	1	..
Blue, M. P.	3	..
Boardman, S. L.	4	..
Bodley, Miss Rachel L.	..	1
Booth, Jas. H.	1	..
Boston Athenæum (by exchange)	16	382
Boston City Hospital	1	..
Boston Cochituate Water Board	1	..
Boston Public Library (by exchange)	..	651
Boyce, H.	2	..
Bradford, Dr. Geo. W.	14	200
Brazil, Government of	3	..
Brock, R. A.	1	2
Bronson Library Fund	..	2
Buck, J. S.	1	..
Butler, Hon. A. R. R.	..	1
Butler, Prof. J. D.	..	2
Butler, Mrs. J. D.	1	..
Butterfield, C. W.	..	1
Cameron, Hon. Angus	4	1
Campbell, J. P.	1	..
Cartwright, Rev. R. J.	1	..
Case, F. W.	..	2
Caswell, Hon. L. B.	7	..
Chapman, Silas	9	..
Chicago Historical Society	..	1
Chicago Public Library	..	1
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad	..	8
Childs, E. O.	1	..
Christiana, University of	3	..
Claiborne, Hon. J. F. H.	..	1
Clarke, Robert	..	2
Clute, J. J.	1	..
Colburn, Jere	..	11
Craig, Isaac	..	1
Davis, Rev. J. G.	..	13
Dawson, C. C.	1	..
Dean, J. Ward	..	1
DeGasparin, Countess	3	..

Doyle, Hon. Peter	2	..
Drake, S. G.	..	2
Draper, L. C.	1	14
Dunlap, T.	..	1
Durrie, D. S.	2	10
Earle, Dr. Pliny	1	2
Eastman, E. C.	1	..
Ellis, Gen. A. G.	..	1
Essex Institute	..	14
Field, T. W.	..	3
Forbes, Chas. S.	1	..
Ford, G. W.	..	12
Foster, E. H.	..	1
French, Mrs. Bella	2	..
French, Benj.	1	..
Galpin, S. A.	..	1
Garrison, W. P.	18	161
Giles, Miss Ella A.	2	..
Gilman, Alfred	1	..
Goodrich, D. W. C.	1	..
Gould, S. C.	..	71
G. Britain Patent Office	56	..
Green, Dr. S. A.	7	125
"L. L. H.," Newburgh, N. Y.	..	1
Haines, Rev. Selden	..	2
Hale, D. M.	1	..
Hale, E. E.	2	..
Hale, Rev. Dr. Geo.	..	4
Harney, G. J.	1	16
Harrison, G. L.	1	..
Harvard College	..	2
Hemenway, Miss A. M.	4	..
Hodges, Rev. Dr. R. M.	1	..
Hoadley, Chas. J.	1	..
Hodgins, J. G.	1	..
Hough, Dr. F. B.	18	116
Howe, Hon. T. O.	16	..
Hoyt, A. S.	..	1
Hunt, L. E.	..	1
Hunt, Rev. W. E.	1	..
Hunter, C. L.	1	..
Iowa Historical Society	22	..
Irish, Rev. J. E.	..	1
Jackson, Francis	1	..
Jarvis, Dr. E.	..	1
Jenkins, James G.	1	..
Johnson, Cresfield	1	..
Kansas Historical Society	..	1
Kingsbury, Dr. A.	..	1
La Fayette College	..	2
Langston, W. J.	..	2
Langworthy, Rev. I. P.	8	27
Lapham estate	..	28
Lapham, W. B.	4	1
Larned, Miss E. D.	1	..
Leavitt, G. A. & Co.	..	1
Library of Congress	2	..
Lowdermilk, W. H.	..	1
Ludington, Gov. H.	7	30
Lynde, Hon. W. P.	..	149
Lyon, Isaac	2	..
McAllister, Jas.	1	..

	<i>Books.</i>	<i>Pamph.</i>
Magoon, Hon. H. S.	..	5
Maine Historical Society	2	..
Mann, Chas.	..	1
Manchester, Eng., Lit. and Philos. Society	5	..
Manning, Robert	..	1
Marsh, Prof. O. C.	..	9
Maryland Historical Society	..	2
Massachusetts Board of Education	1	..
Massachusetts Historical Society	2	..
Massachusetts Horticultural Society	..	2
Merritt, J. P.	1	..
Michigan State Library	29	7
Mills, Judge W.	..	1
Minnesota Historical Society	..	1
Missouri, University of	..	1
Montana Historical Society	1	..
Moore, Miss Julia A.	..	1
Munsell, Joel	..	28
Nesbitt, Jas.	2	..
New England Hist. and Genealog. Society	..	4
New Haven Historical Society	1	..
New York Mercantile Libr. Assoc.	..	1
Nichols & Shuter	..	1
Ohio Historical Society	..	1
Ohio Secretary of State	..	1
Oregon Pioneer and Historical Society	..	1
Page, H. M.	4	..
Page, Rev. J. R.	..	1
Paige, Rev. Lucius R.	1	..
Park, W. J.	1	..
Parkman, Francis	1	..
Peabody Institute, Baltimore	..	1
Peet, Miss Martha	1	..
Pennsylvania Institute for the Blind	..	1
Perkins, Aug. T.	..	1
Perry, Bishop W. S.	..	7
Philadelphia Friends' Publishing Society	7	..
Philadelphia Library Company	..	1
Philadelphia Mercantile Library	..	2
Power, J. C.	3	3
Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions	..	24
Providence, R. I., city of	..	1
Pryor & Co.	6	..
Putney, Col. F. H.	2	6
Quaritch, B.	..	8
Quebec Lit. and Historical Society	1	..
Reeve, Dr. J. T.	1	..
Reynolds, Rev. S.	..	1
Rhode Island Historical Society	..	20
Roanoke College	..	1
Robinson, Rev. Dr. F. H.	..	1
Rosser, John	..	2
Rublee, Hon. H.	17	..
Saffell, W. T. R.	1	..
San Francisco Library Association	..	1
Saunderson, H. H.	1	..
Scott, Geo. G.	..	1
Searing, Hon. E.	1	..
Shaw, Hon. Jas.	5	6
Shaw, Prof. Samuel	..	1
Shipman, Col. S. V.	..	6
Smithsonian Institution	1	..

Smucker, Isaac	1
Sotheran, H.	20
Southall, D. C.	7
Southall, J. C.	6
Starbuck, A.	1
Starkey, G. R.	1
Stone, Rev. E. M.	2
Stone, Wm. L.	12
Stryker, W. S.	1
Sulte, Benj.	1
Thomas, Terrill	1
Thomson, P. G.	1
Tilden, W. S.	1
Turner, John	12
Tuttle, Rev. Dr. Jos. F.	2
United States Centennial Commissioners	2
United States Chief of Engineers	6
United States Coast Survey	2
United States Department of Education	1
United States Department of State	1
United States Secretary of Interior	72
United States Secretary of Treasury	2
United States Surgeon General	3
Vermilye, Rev. Dr. A. G.	1
Vermont Historical Society	1
Vermont State Library	11
Vilas, Judge L. B.	1
Weiss, A. J.	1
Wells, David A.	1
Western Cement Co.	4
White, Philo	1
Wight, Hon. O. W.	1
Wilkinson, Rev. J.	1
Williams, Hon. J.	1
Williamson, Jos.	1
Winfield, Chas. H.	1
Winthrop, Hon. R. C.	3
Wisconsin Academy of Sciences	1
Wisconsin Centennial Commissioners	7
Wisconsin Editorial Association	1
Wisconsin Natural History Society	1
Wisconsin Railroad Commissioners	1
Wisconsin, State of	21
Wisconsin State Library	4
Wisconsin State Board of Charities	1
Wooley, Dr. M.	1
Yale College	3

Art Gallery

There have been added to the art gallery during the year, three portraits in oil, one pastel and one in crayon. One of Dr. Moses Meeker, an early pioneer of the lead region of Wisconsin, painted by A. R. Stanley, presented by Mrs. Meeker. An oil portrait of Hon. C. M. Baker, a Walworth County pioneer, painted by J. R. Stuart, gilt frame, from Hon. R. H. Baker. A large sized oil portrait of Lieut. Gov. M. H. Pettit, painted by W. C.

Knocke, with heavy gilt frame, from Mrs. Pettit. A pastel portrait of Gen. Amasa Cobb, a well known Wisconsin pioneer, in oval gilt frame, from Gen. Cobb. A crayon portrait of Wm. N. Seymour, a Madison pioneer, framed and glazed, from Mr. Seymour.

A *Catalogue of the Picture Gallery and Statuary* has been prepared, now in the hands of the printer, which will prove a great convenience to visitors; and will serve to present in an embodied form, the interesting treasures of our art collections.

Additions to the Cabinet

Prehistoric Copper Implements.—An axe, eleven inches long, six inches wide at the edge and three inches at the top, weighing five pounds and one ounce; also two borers, one twelve and a quarter inches long, and the other eight and a half inches; all of which were found July 5, 1877, about fifteen inches below the surface, beside the highway, three and a half miles southwest of Tomah, and near the residence of A. T. Hollister, the finder; the two borers were found lying across each other on the top of the axe like the letter X—presented by Mr. Hollister.

A piercer, about three and a half inches long, found in 1866, in an ancient grave in Waupaca Co., Wis., from Mrs. Maria Thompson; a copper spear, four and three-fourths inches long, from Dr. C. E. Wing, Neosho, Wis.; a copper knife six inches long, with crooked hasp, copper spear five inches long, grooved, and a copper arrow, three inches long, all plowed up two miles west of Dartford, Wis., also a small piece of float copper, found in digging a post hole, all from David Wilson; copper spear, round shank, four and a half inches long, found in Grant County, from Daniel Doughty, Durand, Pepin Co., Wis.; copper tip for shoeing a spear, found on Lake Superior, near Ontonagon, Mich., in a prehistoric mining site, under the roots of an old fallen hemlock, from Dr. T. M. Sine, of Durand, Wis.; forty copper beads, one half inch in length, apparently made from thin, rolled copper, one piercer, nine inches long, two others, seven inches long, one of six inches, one of five and a half inches, one of five inches, and one of three and a half inches, one hatchet, three inches

long and two and a quarter wide, and two one inch long and one and a quarter wide. The above were found in a mound at Nine-Mile Creek in town 29, range 7, Chippewa County; and presented by Rev. G. W. Smith and others, of Cadott, Chippewa County, Wisconsin.

An axe, ten and a half inches long, three and a half wide at the edge, and one and a half inches at the top, weighing four pounds, twelve and three-quarter ounces, found on the "Goss Farm" near Fond du Lac, presented by Mrs. Keyes Darling.

A copper spear, about five inches long, found in town of Granville, Milwaukee County, on section 31, grooved, presented by D. T. Pilgrim; another specimen, same size, found in Menomonee, Waukesha County, on section 27, grooved, with a hole in shank, from D. T. Pilgrim; socket spear-head, four and a half inches long, found at Sun Prairie, Wisconsin, from James Shortall; spear-head with a tang, seven and a half inches long, found in 1859 at Wausau, Wis., from Col. Chas. Shuter; socket spear-head, six and a half inches long, found in 1859 by Amasa Grover, in the township of Ithaca, Richland County, Wis., six inches below the surface, from J. H. Waggoner, of Richland Center, Wis.; socket spear, found by W. A. Striker on section 27, town 7 north, of range 15 east, Jefferson County, in April, 1876, from C. E. W. Struve; copper knife, seven inches long, found in 1874 on bank of Cedar Creek, town of Polk, Washington County, Wis., from Bernhard Mund; spear-head, five and a half inches long, and two inches wide, found at Belmont, Portage County, Wis., from J. D. Holman; two small spear-heads, two and a quarter inches long, and one inch wide, from the same, in town 29, range 7, and presented by Rev. George W. Smith and other citizens of Cadott, Chippewa County, Wisconsin; eight copper beads, found in digging a cellar in Lisbon township, two miles east of Sussex, Waukesha County, Wis., presented by James Madden.

Thus we have added thirty-one prehistoric specimens to our copper collection, all interesting, and some remarkable, besides forty-eight ancient beads. Unusual pains and efforts have been taken to secure these curious treasures, in which the secretary has been largely assisted by Prof. Butler, chairman of the com-

mittee on prehistoric antiquities. These rich additions well repay all the efforts made in their procurement. Our present ancient copper collection now numbers one hundred and ninety articles, besides the forty-eight beads—two hundred and thirty-eight altogether.

Other Antiquities.—Red stone pipe, found in Grant County, Wis., by J. D. Wilcox, from Gen. Jas. Sutherland; pipe stone gorget, found in the Potsdam sandstone drift, near Partridge Lake, Waupaca County, five feet below the surface, from Wm. A. Springer, through J. C. Plumb; flint arrow head, found in Norway, Racine County, 1859, from P. A. Aunlee; portion of a tooth of a mastodon, from Dr. M. C. Thompson, Rock Elm, Pierce County, Wis.; a metal hatchet, perhaps of brass and copper, of modern appearance, found in 1866, in an Indian grave in Waupaca County, Wis., with a fragment of its wooden handle attached, with a broken earthen pipe, and some flint arrow-heads, from Mrs. Maria Thompson.

Autographs.—The register kept at Wisconsin headquarters, Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876, with a separate index to names of Wisconsin visitors—a large volume, with many thousands of names, from Elisha Starr; autograph signatures of Chas. S. Todd and other Kentucky soldiers of the War of 1812, from E. L. Smith; facsimile of autograph letter of Robert Burns, from Miss W. Fillans; lease of land signed by Nathaniel Green and Joseph Green, of Boston, Mass., to Joseph Potwine, of Coventry, Ct., dated Dec. 5, 1770, from W. J. Ellsworth.

Coin, Medals and Currency.—A small silver coin of Hamburg, no date; two copper sous, Louis XVI, 1789; skilling, Danske, 1771; and one skilling, Charles Joseph XVI, 1810, all from David Holt; twenty-five-cent silver coinage, U. S. 1877, from T. H. Girard; a large bronze medal, presented by U. S. centennial commissioners to the Wisconsin State Historical Society for collection of prehistoric antiquities; a ten-dollar confederate bill, dated Richmond, Feb. 17, 1864, and twenty-five-cent bill, State Bank of Alabama, Jan. 1, 1863, from J. D. Holman; a collection of bank bills of broken banks, etc., amounting to \$221, from Silas Chapman; seventy-three dollars in confederate bills, from

Alfred Smith; thirty-shilling bill of New Jersey, April 2, 1762, from Gen. Lucius Fairchild; Texas treasury warrant \$2.50, June 28, 1862, and one for \$1.00, from G. E. Giles; \$5 bill, Bank of Delaware County, Chester, Pa., 1863, and \$5 bill of Mineral Point Bank, Wis., 1840, from unknown parties.

Natural History Specimens.—A buffalo's head, a fine specimen, properly prepared—the animal was killed between the Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific railroads, on the Colorado plains, in 1875, by Maj. E. Burnett, and presented by him; vertebrae of a small alligator from South America, from George A. Balken; group of stuffed birds (quail, blackbird, cedar-bird and grosbeak), from B. H. Standish; sea plume from Charlotte Harbor, near Tampa Bay, Florida, from Dr. C. B. Pierson; geode, curious formation in the centre, from J. D. Kelly; specimen of trap rock, sixteen inches long, found at Quincy mine, Portage Lake, near Lake Superior, Mich., obtained in drilling about 1000 feet below surface, from W. T. Brooks; also an ornamental piece of pure copper, from Hancock Smelting Works, from the same; small collection of pebbles, limestone, etc., from Glencoe quarries, Missouri, from G. W. Sargeant; a stone, in shape of mitten, from H. Bush; double egg, the yoke and white parts separate, from A. Coolidge.

Miscellaneous.—A cabinet sized photograph of Joseph Crélie, of Columbia County, taken from an ambrotype in 1876, from W. H. Sherman; an election ticket for municipal officers of Salt Lake city, February 14, 1876, with the Deseret or Mormon characters upon it, or Mormon language, and a bill of exchange written by John D. Lee, the Mountain Meadow murderer, from J. W. Greenman; a large photograph of the State capitol and grounds, framed, from Wisconsin centennial commissioners; photograph of Hon. M. M. Davis, of Baraboo, framed, from Mr. Davis; photograph of a skull found in a mound near Lake Koshkonong; photograph of a skull from a mound in Fulton, Rock County, Wisconsin, and one of stone arrow-heads and beads from a mound at Lake Koshkonong—three cards from W. P. Clarke; sweet cheese, made and pressed by hand, 1868, by G. L. Kolve, Bergen, Norway, from Miss J. L. Lewis; small piece of red cloth from

coat of British officer, used at Lexington, Mass., in Revolutionary War, from C. H. Kimball; photographs of President R. B. Hayes and Vice-president W. A. Wheeler, from Isaac Datton; twenty-two postal cards of foreign countries, from B. K. Field; lock and shutter hinges from door of Dodge County treasurer's office, burnt September, 1877, from E. B. Bolens; Osage orange from Sterling, Ill., from Mr. Schofield; fragments of shell, a bullet and two cartridges, found by Hon. Horace Rublee at Strasburg, France, after the siege of said city, from Mr. Rublee; a small piece of float copper, found in digging a post-hole near Dartford, Wis., from David Wilson.

Contributions for Exchanges

Fifty copies each of the Senate and Assembly Journals, Messages and Documents, and Laws of Wisconsin, 1877; 100 copies of Agricultural Society Transactions, and 25 copies of Horticultural Society Transactions, 25 copies Legislative Manual for 1877, and 40 copies of Geological Survey—from the State; 19 copies of Report of Progress of Wisconsin Geological Survey for 1876, from Prof. T. C. Chamberlin; 12 copies of Governor's Message, from Gov. Ludington; 35 copies of Catalogue of Wisconsin University, 1876-77, from President Bascom; 25 copies of Sparta Baths and Mineral Waters, from Nichols & Shuter; 20 copies of Report of Madison Board of Education, from the Board; 9 copies of Northwestern Centennial Address at La Crosse, July 4, 1876, by Hon. Charles Seymour, from Mr. Seymour; 8 copies of 19th session of Wisconsin Editorial Association, from Gen. D. Atwood; 100 copies of 3d vol. of Transactions of Wisconsin Academy of Science, and 25 each of 1st and 2d vols. do., from the Academy; 10 copies Report of Railroad Commissioners for 1876, from Commissioners; 12 copies State Board of Charities, 1875, from the Board; 12 copies Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, from Hon. E. Searing; 18 copies of Report of State Board of Health from Dr. J. T. Reeve, Secretary; 20 copies of Report of Board of Trade, Milwaukee, from W. J. Langston, Secretary; 50 copies Iowa Centennial pamphlet, from Iowa Historical Society; 3 copies of Annual Report of State Board of Charities, 1876,

from Hon. H. H. Giles; 33 copies of Lapham Memorial, by Chas. Mann, from Wisconsin Natural History Association.

Library Improvements

During the year, the cases and closets have been supplied with new locks—a much needed improvement. With a couple of ventilators, and some better protection from the occasional overflow of the water-tank on the top of the building from which our newspaper files have repeatedly suffered injury, the rooms would be in good condition.

No one entering our rooms, and observing the over-crowding of books, newspapers and pictures, need be told that the time is near at hand when more space will be imperatively demanded.

Library Work

The librarian and assistants have discharged their duties with fidelity, and have been getting matter ready for a new *Catalogue*, keeping up exchanges, arranging serials for binding, and meeting the constant call for books by visitors. Mr. Isaac Lyon is attentive and unremitting in his courtesies (though now eighty-three years of age), as he was when he entered on the work of supervising the cabinet, over six years ago—and all this voluntarily and without pay.

The Seventh Volume of Collections

The new volume of *Collections*, in press at our last annual meeting, has been largely used in effecting literary exchanges, and has met with much favor.

The Hon. Cyrus Woodman, an early settler at Mineral Point, writes from Cambridge, Massachusetts: "To me it is a volume of unusual interest. The articles from the pens of General Ellis, Mr. Kingston, Mr. Merrill, Mr. Tassé and Judge Doty, are all of special interest. It is fortunate that so much light has been thrown upon the early history of Green Bay, and the remarkable men who have lived there."

Manuscript Collections

Col. James M. Boyd, of Green Bay, has contributed a package of important papers relating to early Wisconsin history—mostly

preserved by his father-in-law, Judge John Lawe, one of the earliest of the Green Bay pioneers,—a land conveyance by Tomah and other Menomonee chiefs in 1794; fourteen letters of Col. Robert Dickson, the British commander of the Northwestern Indians during the War of 1812–15, ten of which were dated when encamped on Lake Winnebago, in the winter of 1814, organizing the Indians for further hostilities; an interesting letter of the British Capt. Duncan Graham, dated Prairie du Chien, March 4, 1815, giving, in half a dozen foolscap pages, many particulars of that region, the movements of the Indians, and Col. Dickson's operations; five documents of the celebrated Judge Reaume, the first law-giver of Green Bay, bearing date from 1805 to 1817; three letters of Capt. John Askin, Jr., of Mackinaw, relative to the War of 1812–15; a census of Green Bay, Sept. 14, 1818; letter of Hon. John Q. Adams, addressed to George Boyd, dated Ghent, Dec. 22, 1814; letter of Wm. Dickson, dated Lake Traverse, April 18, 1821; a Ms. book of 136 pages, apparently the mathematical examples worked out by Judge Reaume in 1774, showing neatness and scholarship, with a rude deer-skin cover; also the old pocket-book of Judge Reaume.

Copies of a valuable collection of unpublished documents relative to Col. Wm. McKay, Lieut. Col. Robert McDouall, and Capts. Thomas G. Anderson and Joseph Rolette, in the British service in Wisconsin and the Northwest in 1814, have been kindly communicated to the Society by Joseph Tassé, Esq.; an incident of the Black Hawk War, from Col. Charles Whittlesey.

The secretary, during the past year, beside making a journey in the northwestern part of the State to secure some remarkable prehistoric copper collections, made a visit to Capt. Wm. Powell, of Shawano County, a native of Wisconsin, now bordering closely on three score and ten, and intimately connected with the Menomonees and other Wisconsin tribes since 1819, and noted down a lengthy statement of his dictation, embracing his recollections of the Menomonees and their prominent chiefs, Col. Robert Dickson, the British leader of the Northwestern Indian tribes during the War of 1812–15, and the derivation and meaning of many Indian geographical names in Wisconsin having a Menomonee origin.

A visit to the Oneida settlement above Green Bay, will facilitate the preparation of a paper on the past and present condition and prospects of the Wisconsin Oneidas, and be the means of preserving some interesting memorials of that tribe, so rapidly advancing in civilization.

By still another visit made to the venerable Haukmaunega, or Spoon De Kaury, now nearly four score, the Winnebago derivation and meaning of many Wisconsin geographical names have been secured. Such information will have an increasing interest and value as the native Red Men fade away, leaving behind them these local names as the only monuments of their occupation of the country we now fondly claim as our own.

The Society's Mission and Success Recognized

Our Society has, in a quarter of a century, gathered a Library of seventy-seven thousand volumes and pamphlets, of which over twenty-nine hundred are bound newspaper files, embracing three centuries; an art gallery of one hundred and thirteen paintings, and several interesting specimens of statuary; a collection of prehistoric antiquities relating to our own State, unequalled by any similar collection in the country; and has issued seven volumes of *Historical Collections*, three of *Library Catalogues*, and several addresses in pamphlet form. This success has not failed to attract attention beyond our borders, and worthily to incite emulation.

"I am glad," said the late distinguished American historian, Jared Sparks, "to learn the success of your State Historical Society. During the time since it was founded, it seems to have done more than any other similar Society in the country. It has set an example of enterprise and activity which any Society may be proud to follow."

"I hear on all hands," observes the historian, Bancroft, "that the immediate associates of your Society are singularly zealous and diligent in gathering together, preserving, and, as far as possible, in publishing the memorials of other days."

"I am of opinion," wrote the late historian of the red men, Henry R. Schoolcraft, "that the course you are pursuing, in

obtaining personal memoirs from your pioneers, is precisely that which promises to secure you the most valuable materials for posterity. Fifty years hence none of this class will be living to answer these questions, and the information will then have an intense value."

"On more than one occasion within the year past," writes Dr. Wills DeHass, the well-known archæologist, "have I heard the example of the Wisconsin Historical Society cited and commended. At New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, and other points, I have heard the progress of your Society in language most complimentary to all concerned. You have, indeed, accomplished wonders. *Excelsior* is justly your motto."

"I would utter my feeble voice of encouragement," wrote the late Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks, "and say, go on; you are doing bravely, as I learn from your *Annual Reports*, which have duly reached me; and I wish every State had the good sense and liberality which Wisconsin has shown in making your Society an annual appropriation."

"Most gladly do I observe the spirit with which your young Society proceeds," writes the venerable historian, Hon. James Savage, of Boston, "and I feel confident that a coming generation will examine your volumes of *Reports and Collections*, even with a higher satisfaction than has been felt by me."

"Yours is a very active and vigorous young Society," writes the historian, Parkman. "The value of your Society's *Collections*, under the capable editorship," observes Dr. John Gilmary Shea, "can only be appreciated by those who, like myself, have to use them in elucidating early history. That test shows their real importance and worth, which may not appear to any ordinary reader."

"Inspired with zeal by the efforts and examples of your Society," writes Hon. C. I. Walker, of Detroit, "we are endeavoring to awaken attention to our early history, and to collect and preserve such materials of that history as are still within our reach;" and Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, also of Detroit, and who accompanied Gen. Cass in his Wisconsin exploration nearly fifty-eight years ago, adds: "I am filled with admiration when I look at the

resumé of your work. How the savants of Europe of the Vattermare family must open their big eyes when they read Wisconsin's story. I wish you and your compeers had lived in Michigan. Then we, too, might have had something to show of our past history."

"The *Collections* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin," writes Hon. T. W. Field, in his elaborate work on Indian Bibliography, "is one of the noblest collections ever made by any Historical Society. It is a vast mass of original material, written mostly by border warriors, pioneers, voyagers, and others, who saw the events of which they wrote. By far the largest portion relates to the Aborigines who once occupied the territory. It is to the intelligence and zeal of the learned antiquary, Lyman C. Draper, that the public are indebted for this model of *Historical Collections*."

To append the friendly expressions of leading citizens of our own State, where all can judge for themselves, seems hardly necessary. A few only may be adduced:

"There is no institution of the State," writes Gov. Washburn, "that the people should be more proud of than the Historical Society—built up to its present great proportions."

"You can have no better monument," writes Gov. Lewis, "than the grand collection you have been instrumental in bringing together at our State house. The people of the State are interested in having the work continued."

"I am deeply interested," writes Hon. John F. Potter, "in all that relates to the early history of our State, and I am sure the grateful thanks of all our people are due to you for the industry, perseverance and ability which have marked your long connection with the Society."

"No commonwealth of the age of ours," remarks Hon. H. D. Barron, "has the priceless gathering of historical treasures that we have. And they have been brought to us by you with a care and industry, a judgment and economy that some other person might have used, but which I do not believe any one else in the broad State would have displayed."

"All intelligent and honest men," writes Hon. J. T. Kingston,

“must acknowledge and do acknowledge, that yours has been a great work in the interest of the State—a work, in fact, which no other man in the State could have performed so thoroughly and so well.”

“It does not seem possible,” observes Hon. A. R. R. Butler, “that the legislature can fail to comprehend the importance to the State of strengthening your hands in your unselfish efforts to promote the interests of the Historical Society.”

“The Historical Society of Wisconsin,” remarks Hon. Cyrus Woodman, “adds to the glory not of Wisconsin alone, but of our whole country.”

Similar flattering commendations come from Hon. Alexander Mitchell, Hon. James Sutherland, Hon. M. M. Davis, Hon. George Gary, Hon. William C. Allen, Gen. John H. Rountree, C. E. Britt, Hon. Sat. Clark, and others.

Conclusion

It is not necessary, on this occasion, to dwell upon the importance of public libraries to an enlightened community or State—that by such collections, books are brought together upon almost every conceivable subject, utterly beyond the ability of individuals to purchase, and placed where all may freely consult them.

It has been well said, that true self-education begins where the colleges leave off; hence the true mission of libraries should be to furnish the proper appliances to encourage and carry forward this process of self-culture. “The stores of facts and thoughts, and the exemplification of methods accumulated in books, are needed to harmonize and give a purpose to mental action.”

By citing a few recent benefactions to public libraries, it may serve to show that we are not alone in our estimate of the value of such institutions.

The late Walter L. Newberry, of Chicago, left a colossal estate, estimated at about five millions of dollars, one-half of which, with a liberal forethought and wise discrimination, was reserved for a public library in the city of his residence; and the Newberry Library, with such a generous provision, will soon enter upon a career of great usefulness.

James Lenox, of New York City, has proved himself one of the most munificent library donors of any age. For more than half a century he has been gathering one of the richest collections of books and manuscripts extant; in complete folio and old editions of the Bible, and parts thereof, it leads the world, far surpassing even the large and noble collection in the British Museum, backed as this great government library is, by the unstinted money grants of the British government. In the Lenox collection are thousands of manuscripts and volumes of Americana; five copies of the almost priceless first folio edition of Shakespeare; the Mazarian and other rare early editions of the Bible; six copies of Elliott's Indian Bible—the first Bible printed in America, which one person only now living, Hon. J. H. Trumbull, can read. Supplementing this large and invaluable collection is a costly and choicely selected gallery of paintings. For all these literary and artistic treasures, Mr. Lenox has provided a spacious building—the value of the ground and cost of the edifice exceeding a million of dollars—dedicating the whole to the use and benefit of the public, declaring that no necessary sums of money shall be withheld to complete the collection upon a scale commensurate with the intellectual wants of the age.

W. B. Astor's recent gift of \$250,000, and J. J. Astor's of \$10,000, added to the previous liberal bequests and donations of that family to the Astor Library, have greatly increased the usefulness and efficiency of that noble institution, and enabled it to expend the past year \$60,000 in making rich and valuable acquisitions to its literary collections.

By the liberality of Leonard Case, the Cleveland Library Association has come into possession of property valued at \$300,000, yielding an income sufficient to place that institution in independent circumstances.

Judge S. C. Hastings, of San Francisco, has tendered \$100,000 to found a law library for California.

The late Ezra T. Osborn, of Boston, has left one-half of his estate to the Sutton Library at Peabody, Mass., which is estimated to reach fully \$60,000.

The free library of Woodbridge, N. J., had \$50,000 bequeathed to it by the late Thos. Barron.

The late Charlotte Harris, of Boston, left a bequest of \$10,000, besides her private collection of books, to the Charlestown, Mass., Library; and \$2,000 to the Boston Athenæum.

John Gardner bequeathed \$5,000 to the free public library of Malden, Mass.; and Mrs. Prof. William Larned the same amount to Yale College Library.

These few instances of recent gifts and bequests to American public libraries, taken almost at random, evince the growing interest and unmistakable recognition on the part of thoughtful men and women in these institutions as permanent and powerful instrumentalities in supplementing and promoting the education of the people.

Our Historical Society has not yet been the recipient of any large pecuniary benefactions. Wisconsin is yet a comparatively new State; and, it is to be anxiously hoped, that the Society may, at no distant period, be generously remembered by its wealthy and liberal-hearted people. But until then, its reasonable support can be best maintained by the State.

When Prussia was reduced to the greatest extremity by the wars of the first Napoleon—plundered of her arsenals, her coffers, and her museums by her relentless conquerors—suffering from heavy pecuniary exactions, robbed, even, of the revenue for the endowment of schools—then, in the midst of these great public distresses, the Prussian ladies stripped themselves of their jewels and ornaments, sending them to the royal treasury, and receiving cast-iron ones in return, bearing the inscription, “*I give gold for iron.*” This state of things lasted for half a dozen years, the king and public functionaries declaring that they were “convinced that liberations from extraordinary calamities is fruitless, and only to be effected by a thorough improvement of the people’s education.” “It was during these unparalleled sacrifices that Prussia,” says Bancroft, “in the hour of its sufferings and its greatest calamities, renovated its existence partly by the establishment of schools.”

The people of Wisconsin, who have passed through the trials and vicissitudes attendant upon the settlement of a new country, and patiently suffered from the self-denials and sacrifices of war, will not be apt to repudiate their own intellectual and humanita-

rian institutions. "FORWARD," not *backward*—is our State's noble and heroic motto.

That man is to be pitied who can see no good in our universities, our colleges, our academies, our normal and high schools, and last, but not least, our humble district schools—"the colleges of the poor." And God pity the man who has no realizing sense of the value and necessity of our public libraries. He who can ruthlessly strike down or cripple these institutions—the pride of our people, and the boast of our age—would only equal the monster who could amuse himself with a fiddle when his city was being devoured by the fiery element.

Chicago has permanently provided one-fifth of a mill tax for the support of its public library, which should yield about \$60,000 a year. Surely the people of Wisconsin will not begrudge the pittance of a tax of the *three hundred and eighty-fifth part of a cent* on the dollar's valuation, to maintain and gradually build up a noble State library—one that our people will reverently guard and cherish for all coming time.

Twenty-fifth Annual Report¹

Secretary Draper made the following report, in behalf of the Executive Committee, for the year 1878, which was read and adopted:

It is now a quarter of a century since our Society was re-organized, in January, 1854, and entered upon a career of steady growth and constantly increasing usefulness. Its earlier years were necessarily years of "small things;" the annual accretions, while valuable, were not large; and not infrequently the Society met with narrow escapes from the unwise onslaughts of zealous public functionaries, who, with good, yet misguided intentions, thought they were rendering the public meritorious services by efforts to destroy its efficiency and usefulness—efforts that were, in no single instance, called for by the people of the State; and which, fortunately for the cause of enlightened progress, failed of their pur-

¹ Submitted January 2, 1879.

pose. It is to be hoped, that the Society, with its wealth of solid literature, and the stimulus it has given to literary taste and culture—the many interesting fragments of history it has, by persistent efforts, gathered and preserved—will hereafter meet with the kindly encouragement it deserves.

The growth of the Library has been very satisfactory the year past, as the statistics show. All the departments of collection have received more or less increase—some of them quite large. Each successive year brings with it important additions to our collection of American history, not a few of them rarities; so that this department of our Library is regarded as one of the very best in our country.

Financial Condition—Binding Fund

The treasurer's report shows that the past year's receipts into the general fund, including the small balance of the previous year, were \$5,016.44; and the disbursements, \$4,915.27, leaving an unexpended balance of \$101.17.

During the year, the following additions have been made to the binding fund: From Hon. C. C. Washburn, \$200; Hon. E. D. Holton, \$20; Rev. R. M. Hodges, one of the Society's honorary vice-presidents, \$20; duplicate books sold, \$180.17; accrued interest, \$446.11; annual membership dues, net, \$62.70—thus showing an increase of \$928.98, and rendering the total present amount of this important fund, \$6,524.49.

It may be interesting to recur to the sources of the growth of this fund. For several years, the urgent need of a binding fund was presented in the annual reports of the Society; but it was not till early in 1867, that a beginning was made by a gift of \$100 from Hon. John Catlin.

The several donors, and the respective amounts of their contributions, have been as follows:

Hon. Alexander Mitchell	.	.	.	\$750 00
Hon. C. C. Washburn	.	.	.	300 00
Samuel Marshall, Esq.	.	.	.	150 00
Rev. R. M. Hodges, D. D.	.	.	.	140 00
Hon. John Catlin	.	.	.	100 00
Hon. Cyrus Woodman	.	.	.	100 00
Hon. G. W. Allen	.	.	.	100 00
Charles Fairchild	.	.	.	100 00

Hon. Andrew Proudfit	100 00
Hon. James Sutherland	75 00
Hon. John F. Potter	50 00
Hon. Stephen Taylor	50 00
Hon. Philetus Sawyer	50 00
Hon. James T. Lewis	50 00
Col. Richard Dunbar	50 00
Terrill Thomas	50 00
Gen. J. J. Guppey	50 00
Hon. M. H. Carpenter	50 00
Hon. G. W. Bradford	50 00
S. Alofsen	25 00
W. B. Champion	20 00
T. Laidler	20 00
Col. Thomas Reynolds	20 00
C. P. Chapman	20 00
Hon. R. H. Baker	20 00
Hon. Gerrit Smith	20 00
Hon. Wm. Plocker	20 00
"A Friend"	20 00
Hon. E. D. Holton	20 00
Hon. Philo White	12 50
Gen. John Lawler	10 00
Mrs. L. M. Thomas	5 00
W. F. Sanders	2 00
Hon. Geo. Gary	2 00
J. B. Holbrook	2 00
C. M. Thurston	1 50
F. T. Haseltine	1 00
H. N. Nicholson	1 00
Hon. E. N. Foster	1 00
Dr. A. S. McDill	75
Donations	\$2,608 75
Accrued interest, 1867-78	1,795 71
Duplicate books sold	1,587 95
Membership fees, net	532 08
	\$6,524 49

At the last annual meeting of the Society, the receipt of the deed for 640 acres of land in Coleman County, Texas—the promised gift for our binding fund by the late Hon. John Catlin, one of the honorary vice-presidents of the Society, was suitably acknowledged to Mrs. Catlin and her daughter.

We have since learned of the death of Hon. Stephen Taylor, of Philadelphia, another of our honorary vice-presidents. Mr. Taylor died on the 8th of December, 1877, leaving by his will a bequest of \$1,000 to our Society, to be paid after Mrs. Taylor's death.

Mr. Taylor came to Wisconsin in 1835, as a prominent organizer of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, establishing a lodge in Mineral Point in that year; and soon after became assist-

ant register of the United States land office at that place, a position which he held till 1841. He prepared and published an early map of the lead region; and, in 1842, contributed to *Silliman's Journal* an interesting illustrated paper on the curious animal shaped mounds of Wisconsin. Returning to Philadelphia in 1843, he established himself as a conveyancer, and at one time was city controller. A few years since, he visited our city and spent much time in the Society's rooms. He contributed valuable papers for our *Collections*, his portrait to our gallery, books for our Library, and, in 1874, donated \$50 to our binding fund. At the time of his decease, Mr. Taylor was in his seventy-third year. In his death, as in that of Mr. Catlin, our Society lost a true and sympathizing friend.

It is pertinent, also, to note the death of Rev. Richard M. Hodges, another of the Society's honorary vice-presidents, and another of its benefactors, which occurred at his residence at Cambridge, Mass., Aug. 10, 1878, at the venerable age of eighty-four years. Though personally a stranger to most of us, yet he had become impressed with the value of our Society's work, and had for seven successive years regularly, on the return of each successive spring, remitted twenty dollars for our binding fund, making, in the aggregate, a very creditable contribution. Such men as Catlin, Taylor and Hodges leave behind them the savor of a good name, and the memory of worthy deeds.

The Catlin and Taylor bequests, when realized, will add very considerably to the principal of the binding fund—to which accrue all gifts and bequests, as well as membership fees, and the proceeds of the sale of duplicate books.

With the present and prospective needs of the Library, this fund should be pushed up to not less than \$15,000, in order that its income should be adequate for all binding purposes expected of it. We have hundreds of volumes of books, periodicals, newspaper files and pamphlets that are comparatively useless in their present unbound condition, awaiting the time when the income from this fund will render them available for reference and usefulness.

Could all the friends of the Society be induced to contribute

liberally to the binding fund, they would not only make it an early and assured success, but would share in the gratification of the ceaseless good it is destined to accomplish.

Library Additions

The additions to the Library during the past year have been 2,214 volumes; of which 1,608 were by purchase, and 606 by donation; and 1,827 pamphlets and documents, of which 770 were obtained by purchase, and 1,057 by donation. Of the book additions, 115 were folios, and 126 quartos—increasing the number of folios in the Library to 2,764, and the quartos to 3,195, and both to 5,959.

Progressive Library Increase

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table:

DATE.	Volumes added.	Documents and pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in Library.
1854, Jan. 1 . . .	50		50	50
1855, Jan. 2 . . .	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1 . . .	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, Jan. 6 . . .	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, Jan. 1 . . .	1,024	953	1,983	8,403
1859, Jan. 4 . . .	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3 . . .	1,800	723	2,523	12,533
1861, Jan. 2 . . .	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2 . . .	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2 . . .	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, Jan. 2 . . .	248	356	604	18,346
1865, Jan. 3 . . .	520	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2 . . .	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3 . . .	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4 . . .	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1 . . .	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, Jan. 4 . . .	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, Jan. 3 . . .	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
1872, Jan. 2 . . .	1,211	3,789	5,000	50,530
1873, Jan. 2 . . .	2,166	1,528	3,694	54,224
1874, Jan. 2 . . .	1,852	1,178	3,030	57,254
1875, Jan. 2 . . .	1,945	1,186	3,131	60,385
1876, Jan. 4 . . .	2,851	1,764	4,615	65,000
1877, Jan. 2 . . .	2,820	2,336	5,156	70,156
1878, Jan. 2 . . .	1,818	5,090	6,908	77,064
1879, Jan. 3 . . .	2,214	1,827	4,041	81,105
Total . . .	39,171	41,934	81,105	

American History and Literature.—American Miscell. State Papers, v. d., 288 vols.; Congressional and State Documents, v. d., 220 vols.; Congressional Speeches, v. d., 26 vols.; United States Geolog. and Geograph. Explorations, 14 vols.; Quebec Literary and Histor. Soc. Publications, 1870–7, 8 vols.; Jesuit Relations, v. d., 6 vols.; Van Couver's Voyages, etc., 1801, 6 vols.; Mazzei's Recherches et Politique sur les Etats Unis, 1788, 4 vols.; Mass. Histor. Soc. Collections, etc., 1876–8, 3 vols.; and the following each two vols.; Goodrich's Amer. Indians, 1843; Catlin's North Amer. Indians, 1866; Kingston's Wanderings in Canada, 1856; Federal and State Constitutions, 1877; Tassé's Canadians of the West, 1878; Dickinson's Political Works, 1801; Frost's Remarkable Events in Amer. Hist., 1852; Sketches and Poems of La Fayette's Visit, 1824; Stephens' Hist. of War for the Union, 1866; McCabe's Hist. U. S. Centennial Exhibition, 1876; and the following one volume each:

Centennial Histories.—Taylor's Centennial Hist. United States, 1876; Deven's Our First Century, 1876; Patton's Hist. Amer. People, 1876; Hayden's Hand Book of Amer. Progress, 1876; Nordhoff's Cotton States, 1876; Pennoek's Illustrated North West, 1876; Century of Amer. Independence, 1876.

Other Histories, one volume each.—Redpath's Popular Hist. U. S., 1878; Bryant's Popular Hist. U. S., vol. 2, 1878; Ensley's Indiae Occidentalis, 1612; Story's Journal of Travels, 1747; Wentworth's Exped. to Carthage, 1744; Knox's Claim of Colonies, 1765; Memorials of Great Britain and France on Boundaries, 1757; Account of Conference in America, 1766; Examination of Burgoyne's Expedition, 1779; Conduct of Amer. War under British Generals, 1780; Bradman's Narr. of Captivity, etc., 1794; Anderson's Interest of Great Britain Considered, 1782; Trial of Col. D. Henley by Court Martial, 1788; British and Amer. Register, 1775; Portlock's Journal of Voyage to N. W. Coast, 1789; Chalmer's Public Law and Commer. Policy, 1784; McAlpine's Memoirs, etc., 1773; Hist. of North and South America, 1793; Barton's Origin of Indian Tribes, 1798; Eighty Years' Progress of United States, 1868; Chamberlin's Struggle of 1872; Coffin's Seat of Empire, 1870; Hall's Legends of the West, 1869; Smith's

Narr. of Death of Andre, 1808; Otis' Defense of Hartford Convention, 1824; Puglia's Features of Federalism, 1803; Ogden's Tour through Ohio and Kentucky, 1823; Fuller's Transformation Scenes in United States, 1875; Adams' Field and Forest Scenes in Canada, 1873; Martin's Behind the Scenes in Washington, n. d.; Forney's Anecdotes of Public Men, 1873; McCoy on Indian Reform, 1827; Raymond's Silver and Gold of United States, 1873; Pictorial Hist. of Amer. Revolution, n. d.; Morgan's Ancient Society and Researches, 1877; Gilpin's Mission of North Amer. People, 1873; Homes of Amer. Authors, 1857; Brownell's Indian Races, 1873; Southesk's Saskatchewan, etc., 1875; Frost's Pioneer Mothers of the West, 1869; Frost's Hist. of United States, 1838; Denison's Days and Ways of Cocked Hats, 1860; White's Indian Battles of New England, 1859; McCulloh's Researches in America, 1817; Clark's Bibliotheca Americana, 1878; Morris' Amer. Civil Institutions, 1864; Wright's Patriot and Tory, 1876; Finch's Travels in United States and Canada, 1833; Coffin's Boys of 1876; Trial, etc., of Gen. Arnold, 1865; Stansbury and Odell's Loyal Verses, 1860; Hudson's Second War of Independence, 1863; Hodgson's Cradle of the Confederacy, 1876; Journal of Prisoner at Dartmouth, Eng., 1816; Smith's Geograph. View of British Possessions, 1814; Address to Six Nations, 1805; Constant's Missionary Journey in West, 1857; Laws of North West Territory (1799-1802), 1833; Hist. of Amer. Party, 1855; Webster's Harrison Campaign Speeches, n. d.; Lednum's Hist. of Methodism in United States, 1859; Dunn's Brazil, a Home for Southerners, 1868; Shaffner's War in America, 1862; Williams' Rise and Fall of Model Republic, 1863; Partridge's Oligarchy in the West, 1866; Harris' Polit. Conflict in United States, 1876; Mondot's Hist. of North American Indians, 1858; Collection of Indian Treaties, 1873; Warden's Amer. Researches, 1827; Cone and John's Hist. of Petroleum Region, 1871; Manuscript Pictographique Américaine, 1860; Tales of Revolution, 1878; Kane's Wanderings among Indians, 1759; Lewis' Aboriginal Portfolio, 1835; Anderson's Discovery of America, 1877; Centen. Celebration of Burgoyne's Surrender, 1878; Flagler's Hist. Rock Island Arsenal, 1877; Spencer's Western Pioneer Life,

1872; Dutch and Swedish Settlements on Delaware, 1877; White's Early Hist. New England, 1841; Beecher's Land Fall of Columbus, 1856; Expedition of Sir Francis Drake, etc., 1855; Amer. Year Book, 1869; Records of Federal Dead, 1865; Mss. of Early Canada Hist., 1866; Goddard on Amer. Rebellion, 1870; Henry's Record of Civilian Appointments, 1871; Oriskany Centennial, 1877; Harris's Bibliography of New France (1545-1700), 1872; Columbus' Primera Epistola, etc., 1858; Spofford's Amer. Almanac, 1878; Browne's Four Years in United States, 1849; Carrington's Battles of Amer. Revolution, 1877; Drake's Story of Bunker Hill, 1875; Dodge's Plains of Great West, 1877; Green's Irrepressible Conflict, 1872; Dyce's Six Months in Federal States, 1863; Hand Book of Democracy, 1853-4; Transactions Moravian Hist. Soc., 1876; Starbuck's Amer. Whale Fisheries, 1878; Long Island Hist. Soc. Memoirs, 1878; Guide from Atlantic to Pacific, 1878; Tuckerman's Criterion, 1866; Miller's Hist. of Modocs, 1874; Military Hist. of Kansas Regiments, 1870; Fleharty's 102d Ill. Regt, 1865; Whitman's Maine in the Rebellion, 1865; Bates' Martial Deeds of Pa., 1876; Taylor's Four Years with Lee, 1878; Cooke's Mohun, or Last Days with Lee, 1869; Keyes' Hist. 123d Ohio Reg't, 1874; Souder's Battle Field of Gettysburg, 1864; Dennison's 1st Rhode Island Cavalry, 1876; Southwood's Beauty and Booty, 1867; Kirkwood's 57th Indian Reg't, 1868; Mason's 42d Ohio Inf'y, 1876; Fall of Fort Indiana Reg't, Horton and Teverbaugh's Hist. 11th Ohio Reg't, 1866; Murphy's 1st Delaware Reg't, 1866; Walker's Scenes of the Civil War, 1877; Scott's 105th Pa. Reg't, 1877.

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1876; Cowan's S. Western Pennsylvania, 1878; Morris' Free Masonry in Kentucky, 1859; Pike's Prostrate State (S. Carolina), 1874; Truman's Semi-Tropical California, 1874; Ware's Emigrant's Guide to California, 1849; Hastings' Guide to Oregon and California, 1845; Fremont's Geogr. Memoirs of California, n. d.; Gayarré's Hist. Louisiana, 1866; Wythe's Natives of Virginia (1585-8), 1841; Virginia Richly and Truly Valued (1650), n. d.; Rumnel's Illinois Hand Book, 1870; Waite's Geology and Agr. of Mississippi, 1854; Roy's Coal Mines, etc., of Ohio, 1876; Anderson's Silver Country, 1877; Brodhead's Hist. New York (1664-91), 1871; Cozzen's Three Years in Arizona, etc., 1876; Brown's Gov't of Ohio, etc., 1875; King's Great South, 1875; Calendar of Virginia State Papers (1652-1781), 1875; Dames' Wis. Guide Book (German), 1849; Sylvester's Hist. Sketches, No. New York, 1877; Michigan Pioneer Society Coll., 1877; Dimity's School Hist. of Louisiana, 1877; Dashell's Virginia Pastor's Recollections, 1875; Knapp's Argentine Republic, 1876; Irish's Hist. of Richmond, R. I., 1877; Hist. Bradford Co., Pa., 1878; Hist. Otsego Co., N. Y., 1878; Clayton's Onondago Co., N. Y., 1878; Smith's Hist. of Pittsfield, Mass., vol. 2, 1876; Hist. of Seneca and Wayne Cos., N. Y. 1876-7; Hist. Ashtabula Co., O., 1878; Hist. Lawrence Co., 1877; Douglas' Hist. Wayne Co., O., 1878; Orcutt's Hist. Wolcott, Ct., 1874; Smith's Hist. Dutchess Co., N. Y., 1877; Hist. Washington Co., O., 1877; Bross' Hist. Chicago, Ill., 1876; Bagg's Pioneer Hist. Utica, N. Y., 1877; Richardson's Hist. Woonsocket, R. I., 1876; Abstracts of Cook Co., Ill., Land Titles, 1877; Hist. of Kendall Co., Ill., 1877; Slaughter's Hist. St. Mark's Parish, Culpeper Co., Va., 1877; Cunningham's Hist. Neenah, Wis., 1878; Marvin's Hist. Lake George, 1853; Hist. Hardin Co., O., 1876; Langworthy's Hist. Dubuque, Iowa, 1855; Knowlton's Annals of Calais, Me., 1875; Harden's Hist. Madison Co., Ind., 1874; Burke's Guide to Niagara Falls, 1854; Hist. and Geology of Niagara, 1872; Memoir of Schuylkill Fishing Co., 1830; Orcutt's Hist. Torrington, Ct., 1878; Kalamazoo, Mich., Quarter Centennial, 1855; Orono, Me., Town Celebration, 1874; Packard's Hist. of La Porte Co., Ind., 1876; Wall's Reminiscences of Worcester, Mass., 1877; Taylor's Hist.

Annapolis, 1872; Bowen's Hist. Phila., 1839; Shepard's Early Hist. St. Louis, Mo., 1870; Lamb's Hist. N. Y. City, 1877; Jones' Dublin Bapt. Ch., Phila., 1869; Williams' Hist. St. Paul, Minn., 1876; Morgan's Hist. Dauphin Co., Pa., 1877; Livermore's Hist. Block Island, R. I., 1877; Whitehead's Directory of Chester, Pa., 1859; Peck & Earll's Hist. of Fall River, Mass., 1877; Crawford's White Mountains, N. H., 1846; Hist. Montgomery and Fulton Cos., N. Y., 1878; Wheeler's Hist. of Brunswick, etc., Me., 1878; Wyandotte Co., O., Directory, 1877; Ruttenber's Hist. Orange Co., N. Y., 1875; Westcott's Historic Mansions of Phila., 1877; Green's Early Settlers of Groton, Mass., 1878; Sandham's Ville Marie (Montreal), 1870; Wright's Hist. Perry Co., Pa., 1873; Dunstable, Mass., Bi-Centennial, 1878; Sawtell's Hist. of Townsend, Mass., 1878; Perkins' Early Times on Susquehanna, 1870; Maxwell's Hist. of Guthrie Co., Iowa, 1876; Green's Hist. of E. Greenwich, R. I., 1877; Martin's Hist. Chester, Pa., 1877; Etting's Hist. of Old State House, Phila., 1876; Thompson's Hist. of Sonoma Co., Cal., 1877; Ferree's Falls of Niagara, 1876; Gregg's Hochelaga Depicta (Montreal), 1839; Roger's Private Libraries of Providence, R. I., 1878; Barnes' N. Y. Metropolitan Police, 1863; Berry & Patton's Men and Memories of San Francisco, 1873.

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P. E. Church, 1860; Memorial of Thos. Ewing, 1873; Tarbox's Life of Putnam, 1876; Mather's Life of John Eliot, 1820; Sketches, etc., D. Crockett, 1833; Banvard's Life of Webster, 1853; Knapp's Life of Timothy Dexter, 1848; Biography of Cresap, 1826; Eggleston's Life of Tecumseh; Memories of Shaubena, 1878; Slaughter's Life of Randolph Fairfax, 1878; Hill's Life of Boone, 1875; Narr. of Life of D. Crockett, 1834; Hartley's Life of Boone, 1865; Whittaker's Life of Custer, 1876; Young's Life of Geo. Robertson, 1876; Thomas' Sketches of Randolph, Wirt and Kenton, 1853; Youth of Jefferson, 1854; Lincoln, Stanton and Grant, n. d.

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1797-8; Portraiture of His Most Sacred Majesty, etc., 1548; Nelson's English Liberties, 1774; Gage's Hist. and Antiquities of Suffolk, 1837; Eastern Counties Collectanea, 1872-3; Hist. and Antiquities of Glamorganshire, 1874; Roberts' Social Hist. of Cos. of England, 1856; Robinson's Derbyshire Gatherings, 1876; Culloden Papers (1625-1748), 1815; Dunlop's Hist. of Fiction, 1845; Zouch's Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney, 1809; Histor. Illustrations of the Passions, 1825; Hazlitt's Literary Remains, 1836; Lyson's Hist. Bedfordshire, 1806; Tucker's Records etc., of Sir Isaac Brock, 1835; Jones' Hist. and Antiquities of Harewood, Yorkshire Co., 1859; Marshall's Annals of Yorkshire, 1861; Warren's Story of Three Judges, 1873; Campbell's Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements, 1869; Shakespeare Not an Imposter, 1857; Walker's Shakespeare's Verification, 1854; Senoir's Essays, 1865; Collett's Relics of Literature, 1823; More's Life of Sir Thomas More, 1828; Wormi's Fasti Daniei Universam etc., 1643; Sleidanus' Commentaries, 1555; Porter's Campaign in Russia, 1815; Murphey's Mahometan Empire in Spain, 1816; Stanley's How I Found Livingstone, 1872; Felton's Ancient and Modern Greece, 1869; Sale's Translation of Koran, 1876; Hawes' Synchronology, 1875; Gayarré's Philip 2d of Spain, 1866; Boothby's So. Australia, 1876; English and French Ancient Hist. etc., 1831; Norwegian Invasion of Scotland (in 1263), 1862; Hotton's Hand Book to Eng. Topography, n. d.; Stuart Papers, 1847; Domesday Book of Essex, 1864; Smith's Hist. of Warwick, 1837; Mackintosh's Miscell. Works, 1871; Catalogue of Herald's Visitations, 1825; Cunningham's Works of Burns, 1876; Works of Byron, 1878.

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Scientific Discovery, 1869; Barton on the Rattlesnake, 1796; Giraud's Birds of Long Island, 1844; Winchell's Sketches of Creation, 1870; Janet on Materialism of the Day, 1866; Journal of Franklin Institute, 1851; Prichard's Ethnography of the Celtic Race, n. d.; Newton's Principia (in English), 1846; Kansas Acad. of Science Transactions, 1877; Amer. Assoc. for Adv. of Science, Proceedings, 1876; Amer. Philosoph. Soc. Proceedings, 1878; Fergusson's Rude Stone Monuments, 1872; Combe's Terra Cottas in British Museum, 1810; Salt on Phonetic System of Champollion, 1825; Young's Acc. of Hieroglyphic Literature, 1823; Smith's Assyrian Discoveries and Explorations, 1875; Smith's Chaldean Acc. of Genesis, 1876; Kellar's Lake Dwellings in Switzerland, 1866; Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, 1874; Westwood's Palaeographia Sacra, 1845; Sammes' Britannia Antiqua Illustrata, 1676; Catalogue of Royal Irish Academy, etc., 1863; Smucker on Pre-Historic Races of Ohio, 1877; Jones' Dead Towns of Georgia, 1878; Jones' Tennessee Aboriginal Remains, 1876.

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tary Maps of Civil War, v. d.; Historical Atlases of the States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa, 1868-78, 5 vols.; Walling's Atlas of Ohio, 1868.

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Bound Newspaper Files.—The following additions indicate their number and the period of their publication:

	Years.	Vols.
London Observer	1684	2
Pennsylvania Gazette	1750	1
Boston Herald of Freedom	1790	1
New London (Conn.) Gazette	1794-96	1
Albany Daily Advertiser	1814-16	2
Wheeling, Va., N. Western Gazette	1818-20	1
New England Galaxy	1821-28	3
Boston Weekly Messenger	1824-26	1
Hampshire, Mass., Gazette	1825-26	1
New York Mirror	1828	1
Georgetown, D. C., Gazette	1829-33	4
Galena, Ill., N. Western Gazette	1837-48	3
Albany Tocsin of Liberty, etc	1842-43	1
Chambers' Edinburgh Journal	1844-54	22
Albany Mechanics' Journal	1846-47	1
New York Weekly Herald	1848-49	1
New York Semi-Weekly Post	1849-57	16
New York Weekly Tribune	1850-59	6
Albany Evening Transcript	1853-55	2
Congressional Record	1874-77	9
Chicago Daily Times	1877-78	4
Chicago Daily Tribune	1877-78	4
New York Daily World	1877-78	3
New York Daily Tribune	1877-78	4
Wisconsin daily and weekly papers	1845-78	14
		108

These additions make the total number of bound newspaper files of the seventeenth century, 64 volumes; of the eighteenth, 306; of the present century, 2,552; grand total, 3,012.

Unbound Newspaper Files and Serials.— Wisconsin Journal of Education, 1876, 1877, from Hon. W. C. Whitford; Gentleman's Magazine, 1838, 1841-47, purchased; Journal of Social Science, 7 nos.; Jour. of Speculative Philosophy, 31 nos., purchased; The Republic, 18 nos.; Amer. Naturalist, 1867-75, purchased; Boston Index, 1877, from E. Burdick; Western Spy, 1814-1822, purchased, and a collection of 717 nos. Amer. periodicals, purchased to complete sets.

There are now received by the Society 223 periodicals—14 more than last year; of which, 4 are quarterlies, 13 monthlies, 1 bi-monthly, 2 semi-monthly, 193 weeklies, 1 semi-weekly and 9 dailies, of which 193 are Wisconsin publications.

Library Additions—Summary

	<i>Vols.</i>
American patents	12
British patents	110
American history and travel	79
American local history	120
American Revolutionary War history	27
American Indians	24
State histories and documents	198
United States documents and surveys	513
Slavery and Civil War	54
Canada	16
Magazines and reviews	133
Historical and learned societies	81
Biography	114
Genealogy	46
European history and literature	133
Antiquities and archæology	15
Cyclopedias and dictionaries	155
Language and literature	43
Bibliography	8
Political Economy, etc.	7
Politics and government	25
Religious history, etc.	21
Education	5
Science	39
Secret societies	5
Directories	17
Poetry and fiction	12
Almanacs and registers	74
Voyages and travels	7
Bound newspaper files	108
Atlases	6
Miscellaneous	7
Total book additions	2,214

Donors of Books and Pamphlets

	<i>Books.</i>	<i>Pamph.</i>
Allen, Prof. Wm. F.	2	7
American Philosophical Society	2	2
Andover Theological Seminary	..	1
Anthon, Prof. C. E.	..	2
Argentine Republic Centennial Commissioner	1	..
Astor Library	..	1
Bagg, M. M.	1	..
Bailey, W. T.	1	..
Baltimore, Md., Park Commissioners	..	5
Barton, E. M.	..	1
Bartow, Rev. E.	1	..
Bascom, President J.	..	8
Battle, K. P.	..	1
Beloit College	..	1
Benet, S. V.	1	..
Betts, Rev. B. R.	..	1
Blue, M. P.	1	2
Boardman, S. L.	1	..
Bodley, Miss R. L.	..	2
Bolens, E. B.	1	..
Boothby, Josiah.	1	..

	<i>Books</i>	<i>Pamph.</i>
Boston Public Library	..	1
Boston School Committee.	1	..
Boudlin, P.	1	..
Bradford, Hon. G. W.	2	30
Bradlee, Rev. C. D.	..	1
Bradley, I. S.	1	19
Briggs, Col. S.	1	..
Brock, R. A.	1	24
Bross, Hon. Wm.	1	..
Buchanan, R.	2	..
Buck, J. S.	7	..
Bunker Hill Monument Association	2	..
Burrage, John	1	..
Burrows, Hon. George B.	2	..
Butterfield, C. W.	1	12
Cameron, Hon. A.	4	..
Carr, Hon. E. S.	1	..
Catlin, Mrs. J.	4	1
Cayuga County, N. Y., Hist. Soc.	..	1
Chadwick, H. E.	..	1
Chamberlin, Prof. T. C.	..	1
Cheney, T. A.	..	1
Cheever, Hon. D. G.	..	2
Cherry, P. P.	..	2
Chicago Historical Society	31	81
Chicago University	..	6
Clarke, H. W.	..	2
Clarke, Robert, & Co.	2	22
Clarke, S. J.	1	..
Clement, John	..	3
Colburn, Jere	..	5
Columbia College, N. Y.	..	10
Cover, John	2	..
Craig, Isaac	..	5
Crowell, Dr. J.	..	1
Cunningham, G. A.	1	..
Curtis, D. W.	..	4
Daley, C. P.	..	1
Davis, J. C. B.	..	1
Dawes, E. C.	..	21
Delaware Historical Society	..	11
Doerflinger, C. H.	..	11
Doyle, Hon. P., ...	4	103
Draper, L. C.	6	28
Drowne, H. T.	..	4
Dunster, Henry	1	..
Dunster, Sam'l.	1	..
Durrie, D. S.	1	..
Earle, Dr. Pliny	..	1
Field, B. K.	..	2
Flagler, D. W.	1	..
Garrison, W. P.	5	35
Gatschet, A. S.	..	2
Georgia Historical Society	1	..
Gould, S. C.	..	12
Gray, W. H.	..	1
Great Britain Patent Office	110	..
Green, Dr. S. A.	1	55
Green, D. H.	1	..
Grimm, G.	1	..
Guernsey, O.	1	..
Hale, Dr. Geo.	..	1

Harney, Geo. J.	..	1
Hartranft, Gov. J. F.	3	..
Hawley, Dr. Jas.	..	3
Hesperian Soc. (U. W.) by exchange	51	7
Holden, C. C. P.	2	18
Hough, Dr. F. B.	1	1
Howe, Hon. T. O.	9	..
Humphreys, Gen. A. A.	7	..
Indianapolis (Ind.) Public Library	..	1
Iowa Historical Society	..	1
James, C. L.	..	2
Jenkins, Hon. Steuben	..	5
Jillson, David	1	..
Johns Hopkins University	..	2
Johnson, Rev. W. W.	1	..
Jones, C. C., Jr.	1	..
Jones, H. G.	..	1
Jones, M. M.	..	1
Kansas Historical Society	10	1
Kansas State Board Agriculture	1	2
Kennedy, D.	..	1
Kenosha Co. Wis., Historical Society	1	..
Kett, H. F.	1	..
Kidder, Fred	..	1
Lang, R. W.	2	..
Long Island Historical Society	1	2
Luce, S. S.	1	..
Ludington, Gov. H.	1	..
Mann, Rev. J.	1	..
Marcy, Oliver	..	1
Maryland Historical Society	2	2
Massachusetts General Hospital	..	1
Massachusetts Historical Society	3	..
Massachusetts Horticultural Society	..	3
Massachusetts Secretary of State	7	..
Matson, N.	1	..
Medbury, Rev. A. R.	..	1
Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce	..	1
Miner, Rev. H. A.	..	5
Minnesota Academy Nat. Science	2	..
Minnesota Historical Society	1	2
Missouri State University	1	..
Moravian Historical Society	1	..
Moseley, E. S.	1	..
Mott, H.	1	..
Munsell, J.	..	1
Newell, Rev. W. W.	..	1
New England Historic-Genealog. Society	3	1
New York State Library	..	1
Nichol, T. M.	..	2
Northrop, G. V. N.	..	1
Nova Scotia Historical Society	..	1
Oregon Pioneer and Historical Society	..	3
Parker, B. F.	..	7
Peabody Institute, Baltimore	..	1
Pennypacker, S. W.	..	1
Perkins, Mrs. Geo. A.	1	..
Phelps, O. S.	1	..
Philadelphia Social Science Association	..	1
Powell, J. W.	..	4
Preble, Admiral G. H.	..	2
Pulcifer, Hon. D. H.	..	10

Putney, Col. F. H.	14	60
Quebec Literary and Historical Society	8	..
Reed, E. R.	1	1
Reeves, Mrs. W.	8	22
Reynolds, Rev. S.	1	1
Rhode Island Historical Society	1	..
Richardson, E.	1	..
Ritch, Hon. W. J.	..	1
Robbins, Miss V.	1	..
Rogers, H. W.	1	..
Saint Louis Board of Education	2	..
Sanborn, Rev. P. F.	..	1
San Francisco Library Association	..	1
Sawtelle, I. B.	1	1
Sears, A. T.	1	..
Shaw, Prof. S.	..	3
Sherwood, Rev. Adiel	3	..
Shipman, Col. S. V.	..	4
Slaughter, Rev. P.	2	..
Slocum, G. B.	1	..
Smith, Hon. P. H.	1	..
Smithsonian Institution	1	..
Smucker, Isaac	2	..
Spalding, E. H.	1	1
Spencer, Mrs. J. W.	1	..
Starbuck, Alex.	1	..
Stillson, Rev. A. C.	..	1
Stone, Rev. E. M.	..	1
Strong, Dr. C. C.	..	1
Stryker, Gen. W. S.	3	17
Tennessee State Medical Society	..	1
Thomas, Rev. L. B.	1	..
Thomson, P. G.	1	..
Turner, H. E.	1	..
Tuttle, Dr. J. F.	1	20
United States Coast Survey	1	..
United States Commissioner of Education	1	1
United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs	6	..
United States Commissioner of Patents	13	..
United States Naval Observatory	1	..
United States Secretary of Interior	62	..
United States Secretary of State	2	..
United States Treasury	1	..
Vermont Historical Society	1	1
Vilas, Dr. Chas. H.	..	1
Warren, Moses	..	1
Western Reserve Historical Society	..	4
White, Hon. Philo	..	1
Whitmore, W. H.	2	..
Whitney, D. R.	1	..
Wilder, W. R.	1	..
Willey, O. S.	2	..
Williams, Hon. James	1	..
Wisconsin, State of	4	..
Wisconsin State Board of Charities	1	..
Wisconsin State Board of Health	1	..
Wisconsin State Horticultural Society	1	..
Wisconsin State Library	8	12
Wisconsin State Superintendent of Public In- struction	2	..
Wisconsin State University	..	169
Woodhull, J. W., Secretary	22	..

Woodman, Cyrus	.	.	.	13	..
Worcester (Mass.) Society of Antiquity	.	.	.	1	..
Wright, Hon. H. B.	.	.	.	..	1
Wright, Silas	.	.	.	1	1
Wynkoop, Richard	.	.	.	1	..
Yale College	.	.	.	..	3
Young, Hon. V. B.	.	.	.	2	3

Art Gallery

There has been added to the Art Gallery, during the year, a fine cabinet sized photograph of Hon. Henry D. Barron, neatly framed, from Judge Barron; a crayon portrait of Isaac Lyon, with rosewood and gilt frame, from the artist, Miss W. Fillans; also, from the same, a crayon portrait of Hon. Chas. Sumner, neatly framed, and a plaster medallion of Hon. John W. Hoyt, Governor of Wyoming Terr.; an oil portrait of the Winnebago chief Yellow Thunder, painted and deposited by the artist, S. D. Coates, of Merrimac, Wis.; a fine, life size, plaster bust of Solomon Juneau, executed by E. P. Knowles.

Contributions for Exchanges

Twenty copies of Gov. Smith's Message, Jan. 10, 1878, from Gov. Smith; 10 vols. 2 Wis. Geol. Report, from State; 25 Northern Wis. Agric. and Mechan. Association, 1876-7, from State; 10 Reports State Bd. of Charities, 1872; 6 Synoptical Index; 25 Gov. Ludington's Message, 1877; 20 Ann. Repts. of Sec. of State, 1871-1873; 10 Ryan's Opinion on R. R. Injunctions; 50 Nat. Insurance Convention, 1874, from Hon. Peter Doyle; 12 Ann. Report Wis. Geolog. Survey, 1877, from Prof. T. C. Chamberlin; 25 Reports of State Bd. of Charities, 1877, from Sec. of Board; 15 Repts. Madison Board of Education, 1877, from Prof. S. Shaw, and 50 Reports of previous years; 94 vols. of Wis. State Documents v. d., from Hesperian Society, by exchange of duplicate books; 12 Ann. Rept. of Supt. of Public Instruction, 1877, from Hon. W. C. Whitford; 12 Wis. Editorial Association, 19th Session, 1877, from Gen. D. Atwood; 10 same, 20th Ses., from Hon. E. D. Coe; 24 Ann. Rept. of State Bd. of Health, 1877, from Dr. J. T. Reeve, Sec.; 10 Milw. Trade and Commerce, 1877, from Chamber of Commerce; 18 Wis. Hort. Soc. Rept. 1869, and 6

Madison Pamphlets, from Dr. Jos. Hobbins; 25 Legislative Manuals, 1878, from State; 50 each Laws of Wis., 1878, Senate and Assembly Journals, and Messages and Documents; 100 Wis. Agr. Society Transactions, 1877-8; 40 Wis. Dairymen's Association Reports, 1877-8; 25 No. Agr. and Mechan. Assoc., 1877-8, from State; 6 Wis. State Treas'rs Rept., 1877, from State Treasr.; 6 Wis. State Teachers' Assoc., 1853-78, from Prof. A. Salisbury; 25 State Horticul. Soc. Rept. 1878, from State; 45 Cat. of Univer. of Wisconsin, 1878-9, from Pres. Bascom; 6 Wis. Dairymen's Asso. Repts. v. d., from D. W. Curtiss, Sec.

Additions to the Cabinet

Prehistoric Implements.—A copper spear, with socket about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, from L. McGovern, Elkhart Lake, Sheboygan Co., Wis.; also a copper rounded spear, point about two inches long, from the same; a copper spear-head, with socket six inches long, found on Section 32, Town 24, Range 15 east, Outagamie Co., Wis.; a copper axe, found on Section 17, Town 22, Range 15 east, Outagamie Co., about six inches long, and two and a half wide, and a collection of broken earthen pottery, from C. W. Malley, New London, Wis.; a piece of float copper, weighing 4 pounds 10 ounces, flattened in shape of an axe, found on premises of Orson Tichenor, near city of Waukesha, from Mr. Tichenor; a barbed spear, ten inches long, found in town of Merton, Waukesha Co., Wis., 1877, from Hon. John A. Rice; copper knife, with handle, five inches long, found at Spirit River, near Wausau, Wis., 16 feet below surface, from G. C. Young, Wausau.

Other Antiquities.—Broken stone pipe and stone chisel 5 inches long, found in Dane Co., Wis., from Mrs. Wm. Reeves; stone axe, grooved, found on an island in Lake Mendota, near State Hospital for Insane, from Dr. J. N. De Hart; stone hammer, seven and a half pounds, from Rockland Mine, Lake Superior, in Ontonagon Co., Mich., from Dr. John A. Rice; stone axe, found on premises of Frank Gault, Dane Co., from John Dohr; petrified wood, from Placer Co., California; human skull, from No. Platte River, Nebraska, found in a tree forty feet from the ground, from D. R. Phelps; collection of seventy-five stone arrow-heads, found in the

town of Richmond, Walworth Co., Wis., and a stone axe found at same place, from W. L. R. Stewart, Whitewater, Wis.; twelve small fossil pipes and flint arrow-head, from a mound in Bath Co., Kentucky, from Hon. V. B. Young.

Autographs.—An autograph document signed by Andrew Jackson and Hugh L. White, from Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, 1804; three autograph letters of Chevalier Johnstone to Gen. Murray, of Canada, 1759 and 1763; signature of Hon. W. T. Barry, 1816, from Hon. V. B. Young; writ of attachment on property of Thos. Marshall, of Va., 1757; from Otis Guernsey; also, purchased, autograph letters of the following signers of the declaration of independence and constitution of the United States; R. Stockton, Geo. Taylor, David Brearley, Pierce Butler, Jona. Dayton, J. Dickinson, W. Few, T. Fitz Simmons, J. Ingersoll, W. Livingston, J. Langdon, W. W. Paterson, Hugh Williamson, F. Hopkinson and James Madison.

Coins, Medals and Currency.—Russian copper coin, 1840, from W. Rosman; 25 cent bill State Bank of North Carolina, 1864, from M. J. Paine; copper penny, Bank of Upper Canada, 1850, from W. H. Loomis; a certificate of one share of \$100, in Amer. Colonization and Steam Ship Co. of Yucatan, 1859, and a commission of W. H. Toler, of Arkansas, as major of American Legion of Knights of the Golden Circle, 1859, from John Cover; small silver piece of reign Leopold 3d of Hungary, 1670, from C. Hoeflinger; ten dollar Mineral Point bill, 1839, from C. Woodman; 10 cent silver piece, Republic of Peru, 1866, from E. Quamer; five dollar bill, Bank of Morgan, Georgia, 1857, from C. C. Morgan; 48 American and English pennies, various dates—a Continental bill, one-third of a dollar, 1776—a Confederate bill, 1861—counterfeit 10, 25 and 50 cents, U. S. fractional currency, from W. L. R. Stewart, Whitewater, Wis.; \$10 Confederate bill, 1861, from Dr. B. O. Reynolds.

Natural Science Specimens.—Specimens of fibre from which paper for manufacture of greenbacks, drafts and checks, is made by a secret process; portions of stalactites found in a cave in Waterville, Pepin Co., Wis., from Miletus Knight; specimen of ozocerite (mineral wax) from Utah, from Frank Olmsted; bill of a

sturgeon found in Mississippi River, from D. S. McArthur; a large section of sandstone with a corrugated surface, showing wave lines, found in a quarry near Wisconsin River, at Stevens Point, from Stevens Point Library Association; six specimens of geological formations found in Dane Co., Wis., from Mrs. Wm. Reeves; a piece of float copper, 18 ounces, found in Chippewa Co., Wis., by Mr. Jones in 1877, from Mrs. Rob't Mariner; section of a sapling, one and a half inches in diameter, from center of a large tree, which had grown around and distinct from the former, from Mrs. Shafer, Beaver Dam, Wis.

Miscellaneous.— Winter moccasins made of seal skin, from Kurilee Island, near Japan, from W. A. Spaulding; antique pair of brass dividers or compasses, found in an old building in Cornwall, Eng., from Rev. J. Ralph; haiqua and Indian needles, from Van Couver's Island; three photographs of Indians from same locality—provision bag made of bladder, and fish hooks from Alaska, from Prof. R. W. Laing, of University of Minnesota; photographic group of infant children exhibited at the Centennial Exhibition, 1876, from Henry Ash; cavalry sword brought from Va. by Lieut. Col. Catlin, 5th Wis. Vol., evidently of ancient time, presented by Col. Catlin; section of apple tree under which Generals Grant and Lee made a treaty, April 9, 1865; fragment of flag staff at Fort Darling, Va.; Rebel minie ball, with supposed poisoned wood attachment; fragment of Washington's piano (?) taken at Arlington, Va., Dec. 14, 1861; friction primer for artillery from Va., from Otis Guernsey; group of members of Wis. State senate, 1878, and of the employees, neatly framed and glazed, from Hon. D. H. Pulcifer; group of the reporters of both houses of the legislature, 1878, with similar frame, from Miletus Knight; and a small photograph of the old State capitol at Madison, from Gen. Simeon Mills.

The venerable Isaac Lyon has devoted another year to the care of the cabinet without reward—save the consciousness of doing good, and making others happy.

New Catalogue

The Library.—The 4th volume of *Library Catalogue* of 750 pages, recently issued, exhibits the accretions of the past three

years, and is its own best commentary on the growth of the collection. The four *Catalogue* volumes, embracing nearly 2,500 pages, with their direct and cross-references to titles, subjects and authors, render it an easy matter for the student or investigator to ascertain the strength of the Library on any given topic; and the books being grouped by subjects, are readily found when wanted.

The Library is in as good condition, save in ventilation, as could be expected, when its overcrowded state is considered. In the hopeful "good time coming," a collection so rich in nearly every department of American literature, and in general European history, will surely be provided with ample room for the preservation and safety of these precious gatherings.

Manuscript Collections

The additions to our store of materials for publication have been but few, yet valuable of their kind:

A sketch of the early adventurous missionary and explorer of the West, Jean Nicolet, by Benjamin Sulte, Ottawa, Canada.

Several original papers, presented by Lyman C. Draper, touching the Pontiac outbreak of 1763, and briefly relating to Fort Edward Augustus at Green Bay—some written by Edmond Moran, then engaged in merchandizing at Green Bay, representing Capt. Evan Shelby & Co., of Frederick County, Maryland, and showing their losses of goods, by the Indians capturing the fort there, at £1440, which seems subsequently to have been reimbursed by the British government.

Tradition of the Sac (or Sauk) Indians, by George Johnston, written in 1845.

The Pottawattomie Council at Chicago, in May, 1832, by Dr. Enoch Chase.

Incidents of the Black Hawk War, by Peter Parkinson, Jr.

Settlement and History of the Swiss Colony at New Glarus, Green County, by Hon. John Luchsinger.

In concluding our report, we must not omit to record the great loss we have sustained in the recent death of Prof. Stephen H. Carpenter, LL. D., who had, for nearly 25 years, an official

connection with the Society, and always rendered it cheerful service. Thus is added another to the long list of able and sympathizing friends of the Society who have passed on to the better world—Wm. R. Smith and I. A. Lapham, two of our honored presidents; Charles Durkee, Henry Dodge, James D. Doty, Henry S. Baird, Ebenezer Childs, Daniel M. Parkinson, Ebenezer Brigham, Charles Bracken, George Gale, George Hyer, John Y. Smith, John Catlin, Stephen Taylor, and many others. When the last summons shall call us hence, may it be truly said of each, that in the line of his duties and opportunities, “he did what he could.”

In Memoriam

Prof. Stephen Haskins Carpenter, LL. D.

State Historical Society, December 17, 1878

Gen. Simeon Mills, in the chair, announced the sudden death of Dr. Carpenter, for many years a prominent member and officer of the Society. The secretary, Lyman C. Draper, Prof. J. B. Parkinson, and Hon. H. H. Giles, were appointed a committee to draft suitable resolutions expressive of the regard of the Society for their late associate, who reported the following resolutions:

“Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, enter upon its records this testimonial to the unswerving fidelity to principle, to duty, and to friendship of the late Prof. S. H. Carpenter, LL.D., a man whom we long since learned to recognize as a scholar of large and varied culture, devoted to the cause of education and to the elevation of our race; ever a Christian gentleman, kind and courteous in his intercourse with his fellow men; charitable in thought, and liberal in all that pertains to benevolence and humanity.

“Resolved, That this Society, of which Prof. Carpenter has been an active officer for nearly a quarter of a century, and to which he has freely contributed his gifts and his services, deeply deplores the loss it has sustained in his death, and tenders its profound sympathies to his bereaved companion and relatives.”

Several members of the Society, who were intimately connected in life with the lamented professor, either professionally or socially, sustained the resolutions of respect with remarks on his character and life-work.

Prof. R. B. Anderson, of the State University, submitted the following memoir:

Stephen Haskins Carpenter, was a son of Calvin G. Carpenter, a Baptist clergyman, and was born on the 7th of August, 1831,

at Little Falls, Herkimer County, New York. His early education was given him at home. He prepared for college at Munro Academy, Elbridge, N. Y., then under the charge of Professor John Wilson. In 1848, he entered the freshman class of Madison University, at Hamilton, and remained there two years, when he entered the University of Rochester. He was graduated at this university, receiving the degree of bachelor of arts, in 1852, of master of arts in 1855, and the degree of doctor of laws in 1872 from his *alma mater*.

He early showed a predilection for languages. Having been taught Latin at home in his early childhood, that language was quite easily mastered; and at college he acquired a taste for Greek which led him to read the classic authors extensively. I frequently heard him tell that he had read the Iliad twelve times through, and the Odyssey six times. In 1852, failing of a tutorship at Rochester University for which he had applied, he accepted the appointment of tutor in the University of Wisconsin, which position he held for two years. He came to this institution at the request of Chancellor Lathrop, and was recommended for the position by President M. B. Anderson, of the University of Rochester. He resigned his position as tutor to open a furniture and music store in Madison, as promising better pecuniary results; but his partner soon dying, he closed up the business in a few months.

From 1854 to 1858, he was engaged rather unprofitably and uncongenially in newspaper work. On Nov. 20, 1854, he became the publisher, and one of the editors, of the *Wisconsin Patriot*, retiring July 28, 1856. In Jan., 1857, he began editing his *Western Fireside*, a model family and literary paper; but he continued it only for one year. While he was engaged in his editorial pursuits, he also filled for a brief period the office of clerk for the city of Madison—the incumbent, W. N. Seymour, having been disabled by paralysis, Mr. Carpenter was chosen to fill the vacancy from Oct. 7, 1857, to March 3, 1858, when he resigned. From 1858 to 1860 he was assistant superintendent of public instruction for the State of Wisconsin, having been appointed to that position by Lyman C. Draper. With Mr. Draper, he established order in that office, and inaugurated much of the system which is still in use there.

In 1860, he was elected professor of ancient languages in St. Paul's College, at Palmyra, Missouri, which position he held until the war broke up the institution. Returning to Wisconsin, he taught a select school one winter in Richland County, and then came back to Madison to remain permanently. Failing again of literary employment, he maintained himself by working at the printer's trade, while employing his spare time in literary work. On June 11, 1864, he was elected clerk of the city of Madison, which position he continued to hold until October 10, 1868, when he was elected professor in the University of Wisconsin. But he also engaged in various literary enterprises while he held the position of clerk, acting as member of the city board of education, and serving a term of two years as superintendent of schools for the western district of Dane County. During this period he was also often called by the late Professor Read to fill his chair in his absence; and he was frequently consulted by University students who came to him for advice in reference to their debates, compositions, and commencement exercises.

In 1866, the executive committee of the University appointed Professor Carpenter to fill temporarily the chair of Professor Read, who had been called to the presidency of the University of Missouri; and in 1868 he was regularly elected professor of rhetoric and English literature, and his connection with the University continued from that time without interruption until his death, although the title of his professorship was changed in 1870 to logic, rhetoric and English literature, and in 1875 to logic and English literature. In 1875, he was elected to the presidency of the University of Kansas, but declined, believing that he could accomplish more good by remaining here.

From the year he graduated until his death, Prof. Carpenter was a close and indefatigable student, and a diligent writer. He has made numerous and valuable contributions to the religious and educational periodical press of our country. Ten of his educational addresses have been published, the last of which is a very interesting, eloquent and scholarly lecture on "Moral Forces in Education." This was thought by many his happiest effort, and it attracted the attention of many of our foremost educators. Pres-

ident M. B. Anderson, of Rochester University, says of it: "It is sound, timely, and worthy the attention of every teacher. I shall put it in our library to be bound up for reference."

His Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity—twelve in number—originally delivered in the University, were published a few years ago in Madison, and were well received. The *Penn Monthly* in Philadelphia, and other publications, have contained in all, eight articles translated by Dr. Carpenter from the French, conspicuous among which are Emile de Laveleye's articles on "Political Economy" and the "Future of Catholic Nations," and stories of George Sand from *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

Professor Carpenter was also a successful student of metaphysics, and published in the *Transactions* of the Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, papers on the "Metaphysical Basis of Science," and on the "Philosophy of Evolution," giving a logical basis to this theory. These papers have attracted considerable attention among scholars, and were favorably noticed in the *Princeton Review*, and elsewhere. Professor Carpenter took a prominent part in the organization of the Academy, and was from its foundation until his death, one of its chief officers.

His talents were very varied, and not alone confined to literature. He had a fine taste for music, played the organ well, and also wrote original music. In 1867, he issued a little book of *Songs for the Sabbath School*, the music of which was all composed by himself, with a single exception, and the words to several of the hymns were also written by him.

But what has most contributed to Dr. Carpenter's national fame, is his excellent work in the field of Anglo-Saxon and early English, of which language, to quote his own words, he "was an enthusiastic admirer."

He was, in the broadest sense, a Teutonist, and believed that the English should sit in the high seat in our American schools, contending that English, Anglo-Saxon and sister tongues of Odinic lineage, when properly taught, are as suitable for disciplining the mind and as worthy of critical study as are the South European languages. Indeed, as an old English and Anglo-Saxon scholar, Dr. Carpenter had but few peers in this country, and he had al-

ready taken rank with such men as Prof. T. A. March, of Lafayette College; Prof. Corson, of Cornell; Prof. Lounsberry, of Yale, and Prof. Child, of Harvard.

The first fruit of his study in this direction was his *English in the XIV Century* (pp. xiv, 313), published in Boston in 1872, which contains a critical examination of the English of Chaucer, and is illustrated by copious grammatical and etymological notes. This work was well received by the press and by scholars in various parts of the country; and it was introduced as a text-book in several colleges and universities.

Professor William Swinton, the well-known author of historical text-books, and at that time professor in the University of California, said of it: "I have tested the book in the class-room. Your work is admirably done—a model of neatness and condensation."

Professor John S. Hart, of the College of New Jersey, gave the volume the following recommendation: "The work was one much needed for schools, and has been executed in a careful and scholarly manner. It is a most valuable addition to our apparatus for instruction in the English language and literature;" and Professor John S. Sewell, of Bowdoin College, said of it: "I can truly say that it comes nearer to my idea of a help in studying our language at that early period than any text-book I have seen." Many more similar indorsements might be quoted, but these will suffice to show the unanimity with which scholars of our most prominent educational institutions spoke in praise of the work.

In 1875 Professor Carpenter published *An Introduction to the Study of Anglo-Saxon*, a work that has already reached a third edition, a fact which alone is a great compliment to the author.

This work of 213 pages contains all the essentials of Anglo-Saxon grammar, selections for reading, carefully written notes, and a full vocabulary, giving root forms of the words found in the book. This work was also very highly commended by the press. The *New York Tribune* spoke of it in very high terms of praise, and it was received with marked favor in England. The *School Board Chronicle* in London, England, says of it: "Ameri-

can educationalists are generally very clear-headed and practical, and their school and instruction books are worthy of our attention. This is one of them, and the popular form in which the study is presented indicates that our American cousins perform a good deal of intellectual work, apart from the common subjects of every day necessity and utility." These words, coming, as they do, from the old world, where the reviewer is not influenced by personal friendship or national pride, carry great weight.

Last year Dr. Carpenter published his *Elements of English Analysis, illustrated by a New System of Diagrams*. This little work of only forty pages has already found its way into many of the schools of this and adjoining states, and has recently appeared in a second edition.

He frequently prepared the University catalogues, and in 1876 he wrote the *History of the University of Wisconsin* for the centennial celebration. He frequently lectured in various parts of the state, and often filled the pulpit in various Madison churches. His centennial address delivered in Madison was an able production, and found a place in a volume of centennial addresses published in New York in 1877.

His last work has not been published, but was about ready for the press at the time of his death, and it is to be hoped that the public may soon get this last fruit of his literary industry. It is a translation of the famous Anglo-Saxon poem, "Beowulf," carefully annotated, and furnished with an elaborate introduction. He had the finest Anglo-Saxon and early English library in the Northwest; and his *Beowulf*, as well as his other works, bear the evidence of wide and painstaking research..

My own and Prof. Carpenter's studies were closely related; and so we were in the habit of reading to each other much of what we wrote before giving it to the public; and the last composition he read to me was the introduction of his *Beowulf*. I was struck with the warm glow of enthusiasm pervading every page of it, and with the extensive and varied learning which he brought to bear on his topic. Should it not be published, the cause of Anglo-Saxon literature in this country will, in my opinion, suffer a serious loss.

Of the State Historical Society, Dr. Carpenter was a prominent and active member. He was elected into its executive board in Jan., 1854; was librarian for the year 1855; wrote for several years the reports on the art gallery acquisitions, and continued a member of the executive committee until his death, excepting the brief period of his absence from Madison. I frequently heard him speak, with pride, of the growth and increasing usefulness of the Library of this Society; and I doubt whether any other man, excepting Mr. Draper, and Mr. Durrie, was as thoroughly posted as he in regard to all the books found in this Library.

In addition to his regular duties at the University, and the extensive literary pursuits already mentioned, Dr. Carpenter found time to respond to numerous calls throughout the State as a popular lecturer, and to engage in frequent pulpit services. He took a prominent part in the proceedings of the State Educational Association, acted on the State board of examiners, on the Madison board of education, visited the normal schools, etc.; and had the rare faculty of being able to do all these things well.

On the 14th of May, 1856, he married Miss Frances Catherine Curtiss, in whom he found a loving and trusting wife, a woman who entered with great zeal into all his work, rejoicing with him in his successes, and taking her full share of the burden in times of adversity. They had no children, and she is now left alone to mourn the loss of a devoted and faithful husband.

About a week before Thanksgiving day, the University faculty, with their ladies, were gathered at Dr. Carpenter's cheerful and hospitable house, where they spent a most delightful evening. How little did we think that many of us then bade good-bye for the last time! On the 28th of November—Thanksgiving day—having already been informed of the death of his nephew, he received a dispatch that his brother, Dr. Calvin Carpenter, of Geneva, N. Y., was very ill. On the next train he left Madison, and reached Geneva just in time to receive a fraternal blessing from his brother, who died immediately after his arrival. A day or two later, Mrs. Carpenter, the professor's wife, who remained at their home in this city, received a letter from her husband, saying that he would not be able to return as soon as he had antici-

pated. That was all he said about himself. He cautiously withheld the fact, that he was even then suffering from the terribly fatal disease, a malignant type of diphtheria, which had felled his nephew and brother. Saturday morning Mrs. Carpenter received a postal card, stating that her husband was suffering from quinsy, an old enemy of the professor. But a few moments later, Mr. A. H. Main received a telegram from Professor Carpenter's niece, dated December 7th, 1878, announcing his sudden death that morning—probably from a piece of membrane falling into or over the windpipe.

This was a sad message. It came like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, and with almost crushing effect upon the partner of his bosom. Deep grief pervaded all classes; for the University, the church, the Masonic fraternity, the Historical Society, and various benevolent institutions, had all suffered a loss that could not be easily estimated.

On account of the contagious and malignant character of the disease by which Prof. Carpenter was stricken down, it was at first proposed to bury his remains in Geneva, but he being a member of the Masonic order, his brother Masons soon took the necessary steps and had his body brought to Madison for interment. The corpse reached here on Monday afternoon, December 9th, and the funeral took place from the Baptist church, on Carroll street, at 10 o'clock on Tuesday morning, of which church he had been a member from the time he came to Madison. An able funeral discourse was delivered by Rev. C. O. Maltby, pastor of the church, and appropriate remarks were made by President Bascom, Professor Sterling, and Rev. E. D. Huntley, when his remains were conveyed to Forest Hill Cemetery, and placed in their final resting place by the impressive ceremonies of his Masonic brethren.

At a faculty meeting held in the University on Monday afternoon, the 9th of December, the following resolutions were adopted and spread on the records of the proceedings:

“As Stephen H. Carpenter, a member of the faculty, has been removed from us by sudden death, we wish to express our feeling that the University has lost a most faithful and accomplished teacher, and this faculty an experienced and judicious counsellor.

“We wish also to extend our profound sympathy to his afflicted widow, and to the other members of the family.”

It is proper for me to say, that some of the data in reference to his career in Madison have been kindly furnished me by Dr. Lyman C. Draper, of this Society; but the most of them were given me by Professor Carpenter himself. I happened to get them in this way: The publisher of a Philadelphia Literary Journal—*Robinson's Epitome of Literature*—requested me to write a few biographical sketches of Western literary men. This I agreed to do. Professor Carpenter and I were intimately acquainted, and very fond of each other. Like school boys we used to wait for each other at the post-office in the morning, so as to walk together to the University. One morning as we were making our way up State street, I told him of the request made to me, and added, that I had made up my mind to begin with him, requesting him to furnish me with notes for the basis of such a sketch. With his scholar-like modesty, he shrank from having anything to do with the proposed memoir; but consented at last to prepare some notes in regard to the facts. These notes I made such use of as my judgment and knowledge of him and his works dictated; and just before his departure for Geneva, I was able to show him proof sheets of what I had written. He read the proof and returned it to me, stating the facts were all correct, but that he thought I had been rather lavish in my praise.

It did not occur to me then that the last tragic part of this sketch would need to be written for twenty-five years to come! But so uncertain is our hold upon life! The epitome was received by me on Friday, the sixth of December, and on the seventh he passed away from earth. He did not, consequently, live to see a copy of it. I was in Chicago on Saturday, chiefly on private business, but partly, too, for the purpose of negotiating with my publishers for the issuing of his new work, the *Beowulf*. There I stumbled upon a paragraph in the *Chicago Journal*, containing the appalling news that my friend was no more.

In the premature death of Professor Carpenter, the country has lost an able educator, an erudite scholar, an able and lucid writer; the University has been robbed of one of its most efficient

teachers, and Madison mourns for one of her best and most respected citizens. Yet, great as this noble man was in his public work, he was still greater and more loved in private life. His friends can never forget that genial face, and the frankness and goodness of his heart.

Prof. O. M. Conover, formerly a member of the University faculty, spoke substantially as follows:

Mr. Conover said that although he had been requested by the proper committee to make some remarks on this occasion, and had promised to do so, yet, in view of the tributes which had already been paid to Dr. Carpenter in another place, and of the paper which had just been read by Prof. Anderson, and the remarks which were still to be made here by others who had been for many years more intimately associated than himself with the deceased, he had shrunk from rising to address the committee. He should be most unwilling, however, to keep silence, if his silence could be construed into any want of profound sympathy with the feelings which had found such general utterance, and which are expressed in the resolutions reported.

A little more than twenty-six years ago (said the speaker), I first welcomed Mr. Carpenter to Madison. He had come to join the small body of us, then constituting the faculty, who were striving, in the midst of narrow and discouraging conditions, to lay the foundations here of a great institution of learning for this State. He was then just arrived at legal manhood, just turned of twenty-one years of age, and just graduated from college. Both in personal appearance, however, and in the extent and range of his acquirements, he seemed four or five years older. I quickly perceived that he was a remarkable young man, of strongly marked individuality, of unusual self-reliance, and in many respects of remarkable attainments. His work in the University was in large part in the same line with my own; and our intellectual tastes and pursuits and professional duties were so far alike, that we were thrown much together. From the first, he interested me greatly; and perhaps the very diversity in our characters and previous education made him only the more an object of interest to me. Though several years Mr. Carpenter's senior, I was myself but a

very young man; and I sympathized deeply with the freshness of feeling, the enthusiasm, the eager hopes and the ardent ambition of this still younger man. During the two years he then remained in the University, I knew him well, and our relations were always cordial and friendly.

If he was sometimes rash and hasty in the formation and expression of opinion; if he sometimes amused and sometimes provoked me by his excessive self-reliance and over-confidence, I soon learned to recognize in these only the generous ebullitions of a large and quick brain, flushed with the triumphs of a successful student life, and grasping with eager desire at all forms of knowledge. Perhaps it is true that even amid the larger and riper treasures of scholarship of his mature life, Prof. Carpenter did not always distinguish quite as sharply as more cautious men would, between what he actually knew and what he only supposed; and naturally this characteristic was more striking in the warm blood of his immature youth. But no man capable of judging could know him well then without perceiving that his acquirements for so young a man were really remarkable, and justified him in a large opinion of his own powers.

Of his Latin scholarship at that period I cannot speak with confidence. It is rather an impression than an opinion—an impression largely derived from his own conversation—if I say that he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of it for his college purposes so easily that it had ceased to interest him, and his acquaintance with it, though superior to that of most graduates, was still rather superficial. But Greek was evidently his hobby; he was obviously a favorite student of his distinguished Greek professor, Dr. Kendrick, of Rochester, and he had delivered a Greek oration as his commencement performance. And I have never personally known any man of his years, any graduate fresh from an American college, who had so large an acquaintance with Greek literature, especially with the Greek poets. He had already read all the Homeric poems through several times, and was singularly familiar with several of the Greek dramatists, especially Aeschylus and Sophocles. I well remember the surprise with which I heard him propound to me, shortly after our acquaintance began, sev-

eral bold conjectural emendations of his own in the received texts of these authors. I am bound to say that these emendations seemed to me at the time as either entirely unnecessary or entirely inadmissible; and probably in his maturer years he would himself have rejected them. But the mere fact that a youth of twenty-one should have such emendations to propose, and should urge them with considerable confidence, is a characteristic fact which it gives me pleasure now to recall.

I soon found, too, that Mr. Carpenter's power in acquisition was no greater than his power in imparting instruction. He was born to be a teacher. If in that early day he was not always scrupulously accurate or self-consistent, if his memory sometimes became fused into his imagination and his ingenuity grew rank into crotchets, yet he had something in him as a teacher that was better even than accuracy, and better than self-consistency. He had a zeal, a freshness, a vivacity, a personal piquancy, a genuine enthusiasm in the subjects which interested him, that acted like an inspiration upon the young men who were capable of being inspired.

At the end of the year Mr. Carpenter left us, greatly to our loss. I never cared to inquire narrowly into the circumstances of his leaving. Those were stringent and somewhat discouraging days at the State University. The income was small; the faculty was small; the number of students was not large, especially in the collegiate classes; and though the nominal standard was perhaps high enough for a new State, there was always an enormous temptation to lower the actual standard far below the nominal. The State was apparently indifferent or hostile. The fund which the State should have wholly devoted to instruction, library and apparatus, was permitted to be sunk in the necessary buildings; and the income was wholly inadequate to the needs of the institution. Hard and exhausting work, with slender pay and few thanks, was for the most part what the faculty had to expect. In this day, when the University is in the full tide of success, with its noble edifices built and building, its large instructional force, its manifold departments and numerous students in them all, enjoying as well as deserving State support and confidence, and general popularity, it

is difficult to understand the condition of things in those earlier days. After two years of hard work and meagre pay, as tutor, Mr. Carpenter, with his fine talents and acquirements, his unusual maturity, and his just ambition, naturally desired to see before him some definite prospect of advancement. But the Regents were probably quite unable then to establish any new chair adapted to his special qualifications; and we need not wonder that, with all his physical and mental vigor, his various tastes and capacities, and his habitual self-reliance, he turned aside to other pursuits, and plunged into the "struggle for existence" outside of college walls.

Of his career from that time (1854) until his return to the University as a professor, in 1868, you have heard a somewhat full account in Prof. Anderson's excellent sketch of his life. Many of those years were spent in various occupations remote from his earlier studies and from his predominant tastes; occupations, too, as I suppose, which often yielded him but scanty remuneration. My personal and intimate knowledge did not follow him closely in those occupations; but so far as I have ever heard, or had reason to believe, I believe that he "touched nothing which he did not adorn"—undertook to do nothing which he did not do well. Doubtless to him, as to some of us who understood his scholarly attainments and tastes, and his unusual gifts as a teacher, it sometimes seemed as if his powers were to some extent being wasted. Why should one cut blocks with a razor? But standing now, Mr. Chairman, at the close of his life, and summing up the results of his last ten years as a professor in our University, may we not say that all his various and often hard experiences during the previous sixteen years only fitted him the better for his later career as a professor, only made him more of a man, matured and strengthened his character, ripened his judgment, increased his practical knowledge of and sympathy with men, and fitted him the better to be a wise counsellor in the faculty, and a wise, faithful and sympathetic guide to young men and women in his classes, while they could never quench his imperishable thirst for knowledge, or choke fatally the growth of his scholarship?

Since 1854, my own life has been absorbed in labors and cares

which left me little time to cultivate Mr. Carpenter's acquaintance. I have always been pleased to meet him, when we have been accidentally thrown together; but our knowledge of each other has not been intimate. Yet the announcement of his death—so sudden, so unexpected, apparently so untimely—moved me most deeply. Since that dark winter day when it was said to me that Byron Paine must die, and then, soon after, that Byron Paine was dead, hardly any event of the kind has inflicted on me so deep a shock. The men were much unlike in their characters, in their opinions and habits of thought, in their professional careers and relations to society. But they were alike in self-reliance and hardihood of character, in largeness and activity of brain, in frankness of speech and simplicity of manners, in rapidity of acquisition, in fondness for conversation and exposition, in equal fondness for and proneness to disputation, in strong prejudices, in rapid processes of thought, leading often to hasty conclusions, and in the kindly, cordial humanity and cheerful courage and flowing vitality with which they fought the battle of life, mingled with all classes of their fellow men, and did the work assigned to them to do. Above all, they were alike in this, that they were suddenly taken away in the full bloom of their manhood, with the blood still warm in their veins, and when their work for themselves, for their families and for the world, seemed only half done. I did not mean to compare the two men except in those particulars which made the death of each so great a shock to myself. Notwithstanding these resemblances, they were far apart in many ways. At different periods in my life, I knew them both well. My own opinions, convictions, tastes and habits of thought were widely different from those of either; perhaps equally remote from each. But I respected and honored them both, as in their several ways eminently able and eminently manly men; and while my own life lasts, and memory holds its own, I shall never cease to lament their too early departure from the world, and from the work which to our short sight seemed given them to accomplish. Over the grave of each, with the immortelle must be blended the "lily of a day," the lily of May, of whose too brief bloom Ben Johnson wrote:

"Although it fall and die that night,
It was the plant and flower of light."

President John Bascom, of the State University, spoke as follows:

The rendering of deserved honors is a very pleasant, and a truly profitable, service. Indiscriminate praise obscures moral distinctions and weakens just incentives; but praise well bestowed elevates the mind and heart which give it, even more than the person who receives it. Professor Carpenter was worthy of honor as a man and as an instructor. His mind was vigorous and independent, and he used his powers with direct reference to the well-being of others.

His thought was pre-eminently logical. He saw quickly and traced rapidly the relations of things. Logic was a favorite science with him, and he gave it more enforcement in the minds of pupils than any other teacher whom I have ever known. It was the stronghold of his instruction. He was also a man of quick personal feelings.

These two facts explain his character and his influence. His emotions were easily aroused, and directed, for the most part, by a philanthropic purpose. He then brought to their aid an active, penetrative mind, and was sure to make himself felt, whether in conversation, in the pulpit or in the recitation room. Indeed, it was not easy to resist him; he moved with so much decision, confidence and clearness.

This combination gave him, in a high degree, the one indispensable quality of a superior instructor—the power to convert every process of thought into a living experience. Knowledge was thus made always to minister to the constructive activity of the mind, and its interest and value were instantly felt. To this fact were chiefly due the respect and attachment which the pupils of Prof. Carpenter felt toward him.

His success as a teacher was quite unusual. Few could bear comparison with him in this relation. He was accustomed, also, to keep the mind fresh and full by outside study and literary work. The superiority of his instruction brings a rebuke, much needed with us, to that narrow policy which is willing to load

down the teacher, to the extent of his burden-bearing capacity, with the daily routine labor, and so to cut him off from all access to the perennial fountains of intellectual life. The inner nutrition of the mind itself is a first duty and right of the instructor.

Out of these same qualities arose the defects apparent in his character. His feelings were so active and personal, that they were sometimes liable to capture his critical powers, and send them on a service of their own choosing. Bright, logical minds are capable of very sophistical, yet very acute, reasoning. This familiar fact occasionally showed itself in Prof. Carpenter. I felt that I could always rely on his judgment, when his judgment had free play; but that his feelings were liable to anticipate, by a hasty rush of impressions, calm consideration. There are few types of mind more influential and valuable than the type which fell to Prof. Carpenter. Its very faults bring grave compensations, and most persons are won by its headstrong energy. Though my acquaintance with Prof. Carpenter has been comparatively brief, I am glad to unite with his many life-long friends in a tribute of honor. I may also add that my predecessor, Dr. Chadbourne, was accustomed to speak with the highest respect of Dr. Carpenter's character, attainments and work.

Prof. J. B. Parkinson of the University educational corps, next addressed the Society. He referred to some of the mental characteristics of the deceased, as follows:

Many in this presence have known Prof. Carpenter longer, some, perhaps even more intimately than I, but I am none the less glad to bear testimony to his worth as a scholar and an educator.

Prof. Carpenter had a mind quite independent, and exceptionally vigorous and active. He was a thorough student, and his powers of acquisition and retention were remarkable. He was not a mere book-worm, groping among library shelves without end or aim, and devouring books for the sheer love of it. He read much, but always seemingly for a distinct purpose and to good effect. But his helps to knowledge were not in books alone. He seemed to absorb information in a peculiar manner from everything with which he came into contact. He took pride in his profession, and, while his primary aim was to hold his own special

department of instruction well in hand, he always found time to keep familiar with the best thought upon all the leading questions of the day. He was emphatically a ready man—reaching his conclusions upon most questions at lightning speed. His extensive reading, close observation and retentive memory gave him a fund of information upon a multitude of topics from which he could draw upon the shortest notice. Conclusions hurriedly reached are often inaccurate. His were occasionally so. But it is rare to find a man who can think as rapidly, and at the same time think as well.

But Prof. Carpenter was distinctively an educator—teacher. In his ability to impart instruction—his aptness to teach—lay his special power. Not one man in ten thousand could equal him as a teacher. Here was his chosen field. In it was the work that lay nearest to his heart. He thoroughly appreciated the chief requisites of the successful instructor. It is not enough for one barely to know what he is called upon to teach. He should know it well; and to know it well, he must know beyond it. In the matter of means and methods, too, he must make improvement his aim. The stereotyped teacher, as well as lawyer, doctor, preacher, will be very apt to find the world moving on and leaving him. Prof. Carpenter seemed to aim at a thorough mastery of his department; and his familiarity with what he had in hand, his wealth of happy and forcible illustrations, and his genuine enthusiasm, constituted the chief secrets of his success in the class-room. As a teacher, then—and I use the term in its technical sense—his impress has left the deepest furrows. As a teacher, his influence will reach the farthest and abide the longest. The best years of his life were spent in the University of Wisconsin. His work speaks for itself. That institution is not insensible of its present bereavement, nor will it soon forget Prof. Carpenter's faithful services.

Some lives seem finished when the "summons comes," and the column that symbolizes them may fitly be capped and crowned. Not so when the strong man is stricken down in the very prime of intellectual manhood, and full of hope and promise. Death, under such circumstances, brings peculiar sadness, for it deals a

double blow. Such is the feeling that now pervades not the University only, but this whole community and commonwealth. But, after all, the mere lapse of years is not life. It is not always they who can boast of length of days, that really live the most and longest.

"We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths;
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.
We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best."

Prof. William F. Allen thus spoke of Dr. Carpenter as an educator of youth:

The first time that I remember seeing Prof. Carpenter, was on the occasion of a public debate of the Athenæan and Hesperian societies, during the first term of my connection with the University (autumn of 1867). He was one of the judges, and I remember at a particular point where there was a little obscurity, or perhaps a fallacy in the argument, he addressed to the speaker a question which went right to the marrow of the point under discussion, and brought the debate back to the fundamental principle upon which the question hinged. Nothing could be more characteristic of the man than this act. It exhibited the logical clearness and precision of thought, which were his most prominent intellectual traits.

I do not remember that I made his personal acquaintance until more than a year after this time, when he became a member of the faculty. In our faculty meetings he always took a leading part, and I was from the first forcibly struck with the wide range of his acquirements. He appeared as much at home in the classics, the political and moral sciences, and mathematics, as in his own department; and it was not merely the knowledge of the facts, but the completeness with which his knowledge was systematized and ready for application that struck me. Except, however, in his own department of the English language and literature, his knowledge was not of the sort that would be called erudition; it was rather general than detailed, and consisted principally of such facts as had an importance outside of the science to which they belonged. It was such knowledge as a man of

vigorous mind and retentive memory, whose leading trait was the clear perception of the bearing of things, would gather from an extensive field of reading and study. No doubt his varied experience had served to enlarge the range of his scholarship, where a man of inferior grasp would merely have been rendered superficial.

As I came to know him better, this quality of breadth of knowledge was thrown in the shade by a far more valuable one—solidity and soundness of judgment. This, too, mainly derived from the logical habit of his mind, was greatly assisted by an experience in practical affairs, such as rarely falls to the lot of a scholar by profession. It gave his judgment an unusual degree of firmness and poise, that he was able to bring to bear upon every question not only the powers of a mind which was in the highest degree acute and logical, but also the intuitive sagacity which can come only from long dealing, at first hand, with the affairs of life. I cannot say that I always agreed with his conclusions; but I can say that, as his colleague, I always listened for his opinions and arguments with especial expectancy, and rarely made up my mind upon any question until I heard what he had to say upon the subject.

So it was in matters which were not connected with the University. Being not far from the same age, and having the same general tastes and interests, we became intimate; and I almost always talked over with him the subjects in which I was interested. Whenever I had any practical question to decide, in matters outside of the University, or was in doubt with regard to the organization and conduct of my department, or desired counsel in any literary work, I went spontaneously to him, and always got helpful suggestions.

With these qualities he could not fail to exert a strong influence upon the students of his classes; his counsel was very often sought by them, and, I know, was valued highly. There was a frankness and friendliness in his intercourse with the students which secured him an influence which the weight of his opinions by itself might perhaps have failed to establish. This personal influence, joined with his remarkable powers as a teacher,

made his personality one of the strongest and healthiest agencies in moulding the minds and characters of the young men and women of the institution.

So powerful an influence as that which he exerted could not have been attained by intellectual gifts alone, or even by moral excellencies. He was a man of strong individuality, as, indeed, every man must be whose judgment is valued by others. His mind worked with activity and clearness, because he possessed a moral integrity, joined to his acuteness of intellect, which did not suffer his judgment to wander off to different and irrelevant points, but fastened always upon what was essential. He was an independent thinker, but there was no waywardness or caprice in his independence; right or wrong, his opinions were—I will not say the logical outcome of his individuality—they were the man himself, and were stamped with the strength and lucidity of his nature. When we take account of the loss we have sustained in him—the admirable teacher, the public-spirited citizen, the pillar of a Christian church—after all, the chief loss is that which no community can afford, a man of weight of character, a center of healthful influence.

Gen. David Atwood, of the *Wisconsin State Journal*, referred as follows to his many years of intimate, warm relations with Dr. Carpenter, in varied capacities:

Mr. President: I did not come here expecting to speak, but to hear from those who were immediately connected with the late Dr. S. H. Carpenter in his educational work. But, as my name has been called, I cannot remain entirely silent, as it might be construed as showing a want of sympathy in the subject of this meeting, or an unwillingness to indorse the high praise bestowed upon the character of the deceased, in the able and truthful remarks that have been previously made at this meeting. I am proud to know that Dr. Carpenter was my friend. Like Prof. Anderson, I was in Chicago when the news of his death reached this city; and in the afternoon of the same day, picked up the *Chicago Journal*, and the first paragraph that met my eye was the announcement of the death of Dr. Carpenter, of the Wisconsin University. I was startled and pained; and felt that

the loss was not only an irreparable one to his afflicted family, but was a very serious one to the University, the State, and to the cause of education throughout the world. For myself, I felt keenly the loss of a highly esteemed and valued friend; one whom I had known and respected, as long, perhaps, as any one here present. It was my fortune to make the acquaintance of Dr. Carpenter in the autumn of 1852, within the first week of his residence in Madison; and the acquaintance then formed was continued through the remainder of his life, and ripened into intimacy many years ago.

His character impressed me favorably from the first, on account of its practical bearing. He was a man who could adapt himself to circumstances with wonderful facility, as his life work has shown. While he possessed the scholarly attainments and the ability to grace any position in life, he did not shrink from acting in any honorable calling, in order to earn an honest support for himself and family. As has been well delineated in the admirable sketch that has been read before this Society by Prof. Anderson, it is seen that the life of the late Dr. Carpenter has been one of varied employments. It was not always that he could receive position in his chosen field of education, and the one for which he was best fitted; and, when such was the case, he never remained idle, but would seek other fields of labor. I have known him intimately, as printer, as editor, as publisher, as assistant superintendent of public instruction, and as city clerk; and in all these positions, he was cheerful, industrious and happy, discharging thoroughly their duties, and in all things, acting the part of a true man. Of his great superiority as a teacher, his associates have spoken in appropriate terms; and I will only add that in traveling a few years ago in Massachusetts, I met Dr. Paul A. Chadbourne, formerly the president of the Wisconsin University, and in conversation about men, that gentleman remarked, that were he to point out the *very best* college professor within the scope of his acquaintance, that man would be Professor S. H. Carpenter. This is a high compliment from a distinguished source, and is well deserved.

In a high degree, Dr. Carpenter was a ready and a useful man

in society. He could deliver an address, preach a sermon, or write a magazine article on short notice. He was always prepared, and always performed well the part assigned him. In addition to the accomplishments that I have thus imperfectly set forth, he was a thoroughly cultivated musician, and composed music with facility. It is extremely rare that a man is found, who possesses so versatile a character as did our friend, and one who never made a failure in whatever he undertook. He was a man of vast resources, power and usefulness; and, though cut off in the prime of life, he leaves a record of faithful works that would do honor to one who had lived the full term of three score years and ten, allotted to man. He was popular and effective as an educator; a pillar in his church; an author of distinction; a preacher of great power; a literary man of superior taste; a true friend; a kind and indulgent husband; and an ornament to society. In his death, all classes of the community have sustained a great loss; and most especially has this Historical Society lost a true friend; one of its founders and most earnest and liberal supporters. It will be difficult to supply the high places in the State, in its several public institutions, and in the literary and social world, that were so ably and so gracefully filled by the late Dr. Carpenter.

The resolutions of respect for Dr. Carpenter's character, and high appreciation of his literary and educational work, were passed unanimously; and the proceedings ordered to be published.

Professor Stephen H. Carpenter, LL. D.

*"Quamvis digressu veteris confusus amict,
"Laudo tamen."*

—[JUVENAL, SAT., III, 1.

We loved him well and he is dead; but yet
So fixed was his wise hope, his life so just,
We scarce can weep that he has paid the debt
We all must solve, with so serene a trust.
A life well finished in its useful prime,
By death unselfish as that life has been,
Translates not ill the trembling child of time
Into that lasting bliss we all would win.
Though busy hand and brain have passed away

Though he, our master, comes not at our need,
 His better portion rising o'er decay
 Mounts a new life, shoots from the perished seed.
 Oh! stricken wife and kindred, be content
 That his probation hath such bless'd event.
 Thus we discourse and pitifully seek
 To warm our chilled hearts with our short breath;
 But vain the task; poor fleeting words are weak
 To lift the clay-cold burdening of death.
 On yonder hill, where neighbored by the dead,
 He sleeps, I note the sacred hillocks grow
 Soon like the common sod, save at the head
 Of each the white stone tells who rests below,
 And tenderly recounts his name and deeds
 To ev'ry passer-by that rev'rent reads,
 Nor marks the low mound with its homely weeds.
 Thus shall his mem'ry from all pain apart
 Live when swift years have soothed its earlier smart,
 And guide when it no longer grieves the heart.

CHARLES NOBLE GREGORY.

Hon. George B. Smith

State Historical Society, September 19, 1879

Hon. Harlow S. Orton, in the chair, announced the death of Hon. George B. Smith, and paid a brief but touching tribute to his memory. He alluded to their co-laborers in the up-building of the State Historical Society, and to their successful efforts of twenty-seven years ago in inducing Hon. Lyman C. Draper to accept the secretaryship of the infant Society, and to remove from his home in Philadelphia to Madison.

Messrs. Bashford, Van Slyke, and Mills were designated to report suitable resolutions expressive of the loss the Society, and the public in general, had sustained in Gen. Smith's untimely death; who, through Mr. Bashford, reported the following, which were unanimously adopted:

"Death has again been among us; and we who recently assembled here to give expression to our grief in the loss of Professor Carpenter and bear testimony to our appreciation of his character

and worth, are again called together to give voice to the profound sorrow that overflows each heart and casts a gloom over the entire community, by reason of the sudden removal from us of Honorable George B. Smith, and to express in this formal manner the high and affectionate regard we bore him as a man and our love and veneration for him as a friend and associate.

“George B. Smith came among us not in the maturity of manhood and in the possession of all his great faculties; but as a youth whose untried powers were yet to be developed, strong only in the high hopes and worthy aspirations that filled his breast. During the full period of a generation has he lived in this community, sharing its burdens and hardships, growing with its growth, and enjoying its prosperity. Here matured all those great faculties of mind and heart that formed a character rich in all the attributes of true manhood. His natural endowments were marked by the preëminence of no particular talent, but rather by the strength and symmetry of the whole. His learning was varied rather than profound, and his familiarity with books was excelled by his thorough knowledge of mankind. His convictions were deep and sincere, and his devotion to principle unswerved by the most vigorous assaults; and if he ever wavered it was not from force, but through kindness and affection, and if he ever betrayed a weakness it sprang from the generous impulses of the heart.

“Public life might have had its charms for him, but his ambition could accept no preferment that did not come through the triumph of his principles. He at different times rendered the state and the city of Madison signal service in official station; but his earliest achievement, the incorporation of the exemption act in the organic law of the State, will be his most enduring political monument.

“To his chosen profession was devoted his highest talents and the best years of his life; and the success which attended his efforts, the victories, the honors, and the more substantial rewards, filled out the measure of his usefulness and won for him a front rank as a lawyer and an advocate.

“His professional and political career, though national in char-

acter, and already a matter of state history and state pride, will be less enduring than his fame as a private citizen; the man will outlive the lawyer or the statesman. It was the great heart, the quick sympathy, the fine feelings, that endeared George B. Smith to his fellow men, and will ever keep his memory green so long as one of them survive.

"Of the State Historical Society, General Smith had been an honored member for more than a quarter of a century, cheerfully devoting to its advancement his great talents, often representing its interests on public occasions, and serving eighteen years consecutively as a member of the executive committee. He was in fact an early pioneer, and always entertained a most profound respect for the men and women who founded this great commonwealth. Everything that related to the settlement and history of this State awakened in him a most lively interest, and his last public effort in this city was consecrated to this subject. This society has indeed lost a strong support in the death of such a man, and to whom can we look to fill the vacant place? It is therefore

"Resolved, That we deplore the loss of the Honorable George B. Smith; that in his death this Society has lost one of its most useful and honored members, the bar of the State one of its most distinguished advocates, and the community one of its most intelligent, upright and public-spirited citizens.

"Resolved, That we sorrowfully and respectfully tender to the bereaved family of General Smith our most heartfelt sentiments of condolence and sympathy."

Prof. James D. Butler added a few remarks upon the rare faculty General Smith possessed in captivating a jury or a popular audience.

On motion of Dr. Draper, Hon. David Atwood, Hon. A. B. Braley, and R. M. Bashford, Esq., were appointed to prepare suitable memorials expressing the appreciation of the services and talents of the late Hon. George B. Smith, to be read at a future meeting to be called for that purpose.

State Historical Society, November 10, 1879

Gen. Simeon Mills in the chair.

Gen. David Atwood submitted the following remarks:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the State Historical Society:

As we meet here from time to time, to pay a slight tribute to the memory of an associate member of this Society who has been taken from us, we are forcibly reminded of the shortness of life and the certainty of death. The pioneers in the noble work of building up an Historical Society in Wisconsin, are fast falling by the way, and the time is near at hand when its destinies will be left to the care of those who know nothing, by experience, of the toils and struggles attending the first few years of its existence. Its early founders will have done their work on earth. It is eminently proper, however, that, as they pass away, a brief record of their lives be left with the Society, that their successors, to the last generation, may know to whom they are indebted for so much that is of substantial historical value as is found gathered together in these rooms. Our meeting at this time is to deposit a record of one who, in his life, has done very much—perhaps as much as anyone who has not devoted his whole time to the work—in advancing the interests of this Society. His heart was in the work from the start, and his labors were constant and efficient. I have reference to Hon. George B. Smith, whose career on earth suddenly closed on the morning of September 18, 1879. It is to pay a proper tribute to his memory that we are here tonight. I feel entirely inadequate to perform the task assigned me, of presenting an appropriate paper on this solemn occasion. Taken from us, in the prime of life, as was Mr. Smith, and at a time when his friends least expected, forcibly warns us, his old associates, to be ever ready to meet death; that, at best, we have but little time for work; for doing good; and no time for doing evil. We are admonished to “work while it is day, for the night cometh when no man can work.” A distinguished writer, in terse language, has said:

“There is no appeal for relief from the great law which dooms us to the dust; we flourish and fade as the leaves of the forest;

and the leaves that bloom and wither in a day, have no frailer hold upon life than the mightiest monarch that ever shook the earth with his footsteps. Generations of men will appear and disappear, as the grass, and the multitude that throngs the world to-day, will disappear as the footsteps on the shore. Men seldom think of the great event of death until the shadows fall across their own pathway, hiding from their eyes the faces of the loved ones whose loving smile was the sunlight of their existence. Death is the antagonist of life, and the cold thought of the tomb is the skeleton of all feasts. We do not want to go through the dark valley, although its dark passage may lead to paradise; we do not want to lie down in the damp grave, even with princes for bed-fellows."

How true are these words as applied to all. While our friend looked upon death in a philosophical manner, and perhaps was as willing to die as are most men, still he did not want to die; but he was compelled to yield at the call of the grim messenger—death—and we are left a short time to mourn our great loss.

In my portion of the record made here at the present time, I shall confine myself principally to a recital, somewhat in detail, of the leading events in the life of our friend.

George B. Smith was born at Parma Corners, Monroe County, New York, May 22, 1823. His father, Reuben Smith, was a native of Rhode Island. His mother's maiden name was Betsy Page. She died when the subject of this sketch was but ten weeks old. Both father and mother possessed much strength of character, and the father filled many places of honor and trust, discharging faithfully every duty. In 1825, the family removed to Cleveland, Ohio, and in 1827, took up their residence in Medina, Ohio. It was in this place that our subject received a few years of schooling, and entered upon the study of the profession of law with H. W. Floyd, Esq., of Medina. In about a year thereafter, he entered the office of Messrs. Andrews, Foot & Hoyt, of Cleveland, where he pursued his studies with great diligence for about a year. Being a young man possessing much self-reliance—a characteristic that never left him in after life—his mind naturally turned to the great West, which was then

attracting attention in all parts of the country, and, with his father, came to Wisconsin, locating first at Kenosha (then Southport), and there pursued his studies in the office of the late Hon. O. S. Head. He was admitted to practice at the bar of the United States court, Hon. A. G. Miller presiding, on the fourth of July, 1843. Spending a short time in Kenosha after his admission, he returned to Ohio, and united himself in marriage with Miss Eugenia Weed, of Medina. Then, with resolute courage, he again turned westward, and, in the fall of 1845, located in Madison, the capital of Wisconsin. It was here that he literally fulfilled the Greeley advice of growing up with the country. Wisconsin then contained but a small population; Madison was a village of three or four hundred souls. The young attorney at once took a leading position in his new home; and rapid as was the growth of the west, he kept pace with it, and in all after-life, kept in the front rank of its citizens. He at once entered upon the practice of his chosen profession—and one which he dearly loved—in the several courts of the then territory, and continued a prominent member of the Wisconsin bar, to the time of his death.

In January, 1846, Mr. Smith was appointed district attorney for Dane County, and for six years held this important position, giving to the discharge of its duties rare ability, close attention and thought, and a fidelity to the trust reposed in him that is seldom bestowed in professional life. He was prompt and efficient in the discharge of every duty, and rendered the county and state very valuable service. He soon became marked as a young man of more than ordinary ability. This was shown in his being selected by his fellow citizens, when he was less than twenty-four years of age, to represent them in the constitutional convention that assembled in Madison in October, 1846. He was the youngest man, in years, there was in that very distinguished body of able men; a body generally conceded to have contained the largest amount of talent of any that ever assembled in the State. Young as was Mr. Smith, he was able to sustain himself with great credit in contests with these brilliant minds, and was acknowledged to have been one of the most active members of that convention. He was chairman of the committee on a bill of rights, and performed

much labor on other committees. He favored liberal exemption laws, and to him, perhaps more than to any other man, are the people indebted for the liberal laws that now exist on that subject. He urged with great vigor, that the matter be engrafted into the constitution, and the instrument produced by that convention contained advanced views on this subject. The principles were so advanced, and carried out so much in detail, that this feature was strongly objected to in the discussions of the constitution before the people, and afforded one of the strongest reasons for its rejection; not so much on account of the principle involved, as in the details. It was deemed best to simply declare a principle in the organic law, and leave the details to the legislature. But our friend was soon gratified, after the State was admitted into the Union, by seeing the principles of a liberal homestead exemption, for which he had battled so manfully in the first constitutional convention, become a part of the statute law of the State; and it still remains so. The constitution then presented was rejected by the people, after an excited contest, on account of a few of its provisions that were deemed too radical for the time. But its main features were adopted in the second convention which met the next year, and now form the organic law of the State.

In the fall of 1853, Mr. Smith was elected attorney general of the State, and served for a term of two years and declined a re-election. During this term, there were many exciting questions before the people, and party spirit ran high. Mr. Smith took bold ground in favor of his party, and was censured for some of his acts; but, as a whole, he discharged the duties of the position with eminent ability and to the full satisfaction of his own party, and, in most acts, to the satisfaction of his opponents.

Mr. Smith served as mayor of the city of Madison, in the years 1858, 1859, 1860 and 1878, and always acted as he deemed for the best interests of the city. In the years 1864 and 1869, he represented the capital district in the assembly, and was deemed one of the ablest men in those bodies, both as a worker on committees and as a debater on the floor of the house. He occupied the position of party leader on all political questions. His ability

and experience fully entitled him to that distinction. The interests of his constituents never suffered in his hands.

In 1864, and again in 1872, Mr. Smith was the Democratic candidate for Congress in his district. In both instances he canvassed the district with much ability and thoroughness but met with defeat on both occasions, not on account of his own unpopularity, but from the fact that his party was in the minority. In 1869, he received the Democratic vote for United States senator, in opposition to Honorable Matt. H. Carpenter, the successful candidate.

He was a candidate for presidential elector in 1868 and in 1872. In the latter campaign, he took an active part in favor of the election of Horace Greeley to the presidency. He represented his State twice in national conventions of his party. At St. Louis, in 1876, he made a speech, deemed the greatest political effort of his life, which gave him much national reputation, and would doubtless have been followed with distinguished preferment had the candidates there nominated been successful before the people. It has been supposed that had Mr. Hendricks declined the nomination for the second place on the ticket, Mr. Smith would have received the high honor of filling the vacancy on the ticket. The only other public position of prominence that Mr. Smith has occupied was, in 1876, when he was designated as one of the distinguished visitors to Louisiana, to supervise the canvass of the vote of that State for presidential electors.

Having been an early pioneer to the State, and a conspicuous member of the first constitutional convention, Mr. Smith naturally took a deep interest in the affairs of the Wisconsin Pioneer Association, and in the meetings of the surviving members of the two constitutional conventions. In July, 1879, he delivered an address before these two organizations in Madison; a duty he performed faithfully and ably, not only giving the history of these conventions, but furnishing also a very interesting and valuable sketch of the early history of Wisconsin. It could hardly have occurred to him and to those who heard him upon that interesting occasion, that he was so soon to be called away from the fellowship of his old associates of the conventions of the earlier days. But he contemplated

the time when their voices should all be hushed, and when the places which had known them on earth should know them no more forever. Prophetic of such a time, he closed his address with the following finely conceived paragraph, which, now that he is gone, will have a touching and mournful interest to his surviving friends. He said:

“I hope these meetings may be continued from year to year, that they may increase in interest as the members entitled to be here diminish. Each recurring meeting, I am sure, will in many respects be sadder and sadder for those who come, until finally, when the last of this noble band of pioneer patriots and public benefactors, enfeebled by age, shall come with trembling steps, and with conflicting feelings of pleasure and pain—pain that he sees no more the noble forms and familiar faces of those who helped him to lay the foundation of this grand commonwealth; pleasure at the joyful greeting he will be sure to receive from the grateful people he so faithfully served; when this time comes, as it surely will come, I bespeak for this survivor, whoever he may be, a reception and a welcome that shall forever make that day memorable in the history of Wisconsin.”

Little did those who heard this address think that the speaker, the youngest member of either convention and a man of apparent robust health, would be among the very first to pass over the river.

Mr. Smith has not occupied the high position in public life which his talents would have commanded, had his party been in the majority. He had the ability and acquirements to make his mark in any position. This has been shown in his practice at the bar, which has been very extensive, and where he has maintained a high standing, ranking among the ablest lawyers in the Northwest. As an orator, as an advocate, and as a political speaker, he has had few superiors in the country. He had a fine presence, a splendid voice, a forcible manner of speaking, that rendered his oratorical efforts fascinating and effective. His private life was without spot or blemish. He has been a great reader of the general literature of the day, and his mind was richly stored with its treasures. Socially he was one of the most engaging and entertaining of men; instructive in conversation, quick at repartee,

bright and witty, pleasant in manners, he endeared himself to all who met him in the social circle.

As a politician, Mr. Smith belonged to the Democratic party; he was positive in his opinions, and bold and uncompromising in advocating them. As a strong partisan, he was always armed, ready to defend his own party and attack the opposition. Few men in the State performed more effective work for his party. His labors upon the stump were great, and acceptable to his friends. As it was my fortune to stand opposed to Mr. Smith through many political contests, it is not my purpose to speak at any length of his political life; but to leave that duty to others who better appreciated those labors. I may be permitted to say, however, that political differences never interrupted our social and friendly relations. Mr. Smith was unusually free from malice in his make up. He would strike hard blows to his political opponents, and receive the same, without disturbing personal friendship. He was courageous, quick to resent and repel insult and injury; free and prompt to forgive, and ready to meet his adversary half way in the settlement of a difficulty.

On the 29th of August, 1844, Mr. Smith was married to Miss Eugenia Weed, of Medina, Ohio, an estimable lady, worthy of him, and one to whom he was devotedly attached in all the relations of life. They were blessed with the birth of five children, two of whom, James S. and Anna, now Mrs. Robert J. McConnell, survive, and the other three preceded the father to the grave, and it is hoped they are now joined with him in the life of the blessed.

In his family relations, Mr. Smith was peculiarly happy, and it was at his home where his real character shone out most brightly. As a son, he was dutiful, affectionate and considerate; as a husband, father, and grandfather, he was kind, loving, patient, and tender, and doted with the strongest affection upon his wife, his children, and his grandchildren. It is in these sacred relations of life that the true and noble character of the real man is shown; and herein our friend stood preëminent, and beautifully illustrated the truth of the words of the poet, in the lines:

"Domestic happiness, thou only bliss
 Of Paradise, that has survived the Fall!
 Thou art the muse of Virtue; in thine arms
 She smiles, appearing, as in truth she is,
 Heaven-born, and destined to the skies again."

As a citizen, Mr. Smith was generous, and labored earnestly and zealously for the development of the material interests of his own beautiful city, the State of his adoption, and of the whole country.

In the matter of accumulating a fortune, Mr. Smith was not a great success. He was too generous to lay up money. He could earn it, but the saving of it was not to his mind. He felt that money was good only for its uses; for the happiness it might procure; and, for the comfort of his family, he would freely expend it. In the estimation of some, he was in error in this respect; but all must admit, if error at all, it was error in the direction of generosity, humanity and kindness — free from all selfishness. His great object in life was to render happy his family and his friends; to act well the part of a citizen and a neighbor. In this, he has succeeded in a marked degree. While he has not acquired wealth, in the common acceptance of the term, he has secured that which is vastly more valuable — a life of home happiness. As circumstances would permit, he has made improvements about his premises, until he expressed himself only a few weeks before his death, satisfied with his home! And he had reason to be satisfied with it, as it was a comfortable, a pleasant and a happy one. He leaves this home regretted and mourned by a large circle of friends in all parts of the State and nation. The grief of the immediate family cannot be measured; their affliction is almost too grievous to be borne.

Mr. Smith stood preëminent in his chosen profession. For many years he was the leader of the Dane County bar, and the senior in the years of practice. In the State, most of the associates of his early years, in practice before the several courts, preceded him to the grave. In brief remarks by Hon. Harlow S. Orton, one of the early friends of Mr. Smith, delivered at a meeting of the Dane County Bar Association, on the 7th of November, 1879, he made reference to the prominent men in practice at

the bar of the supreme court at the time he first met Mr. Smith, in these words:

“There were then in attendance upon the supreme court, Gen. Wm. R. Smith, Albert Smith, A. D. Smith, Judge Dunn, Samuel Crawford, James H. Knowlton, Alexander Botkin, David Noggle, James Holliday, James S. Brown, James B. Cross, D. A. J. Upham, H. N. Wells, Jonathan E. Arnold, Gen. Paine, Isaac P. Walker and Judge Chandler, and on the bench of the court, Judges Whiton, Stowe, Hubbell, and Knowlton, all of them long since sleeping with the dead; and amongst them are all the members of the first separate court; and to this grand array of great lawyers and able men, now in another and a better world, our deceased brother has been added, a fit associate of such high society.”

In these rooms will our friend be greatly missed. He took a lively interest in this Society from the start. He loved to spend his leisure hours in looking over the rare treasures in this Library. He was ever ready to defend the interests of the Society, and to bring to bear all the powers of his great mind for its protection and advancement. It will be hard to fill, in all respects, the great void the death of Mr. Smith creates in this place. All our members mourn him as a true friend to the Society; as an efficient worker for its best interests; and as a man of generous impulses, possessing a large heart, that ever beat strongly in favor of all good works.

Mr. Smith was truly a Western man. He loved the state of his adoption, and never failed to defend her interests in all places, with that force and eloquence with which nature had endowed him. His oratory was Western—bold, aggressive, and strong. His rhetoric may have been faulty at times, showing a want of a liberal education, but it never lacked clearness and force. His style of speaking was natural. His words flowed easily, and his gesticulation was impressive. Force was a leading characteristic in his speaking, and as he warmed up in his subject, he was oftentimes lofty and truly eloquent. As an effective political speaker, Mr. Smith had few superiors in the West. He was apt in illustrating his speeches with pointed anecdotes, culled from his extensive general reading. Being generally well informed on most of the current

topics of the day, Mr. Smith was prepared to be called upon for remarks on almost any subject at short notice. He rarely failed to meet the high expectations of his friends, in his speaking, whether he was specially prepared or not. In this respect, he was a remarkably useful man in the community. Nature had endowed our friend with a form of manly dignity and a face, presenting remarkable suavity and benevolence.

"Death found strange beauty on that polished brow and dashed it out."

George B. Smith is now at rest. In the peaceful shade of his own beautiful resting place, the winds are now chanting their requiem; the loving and loved husband, the indulgent parent, the generous and true friend, sleeps that sleep that knows no earthly waking. Time, with swift and tireless flight, speeds each one of us on towards the land of shadows. May it be our lot, when the great summons calls, to leave behind the heritage of a good name, the legacy of a well spent life, and may we meet our old friend, whose memory we are here to cherish, when we pass over the river and reach

"That Shore

Where storms are hushed, where tempests never rage;
Where angry skies and blackening seas no more
With gusty strength, their roaring warfare wage;
By them, its peaceful margents shall be trod,
Their home be Heaven, and their friend be God!"

Judge A. B. Braley spoke substantially as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the State Historical Society:

There are words that strike us with the force of a violent blow, and that fall upon the unprepared heart like a paralytic shock. The dazed mind laboring under the weight of a great burthen, struggles in vain to give suitable expression to lacerated feeling, and then takes refuge in speechless despair. In this mortal world of ours, so full of sorrow, of anguish and of woe, we sometimes meet with exceptional griefs, and suffer losses, the full extent of which no thought can grasp, and no imagination can comprehend. They may come upon us suddenly and we can only contemplate them in painful amazement, and time alone will enable

us to measure and realize how deep the grief and how irreparable the loss. Suddenly, and unexpectedly, and with blinding force came to me the words: "*George B. Smith is dead!*"

There was no warning, no chance for preparation, but like a blow from an unseen hand, came the dreadful tidings, so stunning that the surprised heart seemed to stand still in the extremity of painful astonishment.

In that fearful moment, what availed the clear sky, the bright sunshine, and the wealth of autumnal bloom? The transfixed mind in its great consternation, could discover no beauty and no cheer in these associations. Indeed the gladness that smiled so bountifully around, seemed like the mockery of derisive laughter. Clouds and darkness would have been more welcome, because in harmony with the gloom within.

But a few brief hours before the sad news reached me, that my noble friend was dead, I had heard with inexpressible satisfaction that he was rapidly convalescing; and this coupled with the fact that I had seen him upon the street only the night previous aggravated the shock of the blow. The solemn words dead! dead! dead! rung in my ears like a knell, and echoed and re-echoed through the chambers of my soul. Inscrutable, impenetrable, incomprehensible affliction. How could I have it so? How realize the painful truth, that he was really no more? How walk the streets and know that I should never again behold his massive face; bask in the sunny glow of his kindly smile, or feel the clasp of his friendly hand? It is indeed a hard truth to comprehend. And yet I know that it is so. The words have been spoken which cannot be recalled, and the irrevocable decree has gone forth, that dismisses my distinguished friend from the circles he has so long ornamented. Submission to the implacable decrees of overruling heaven, is a hard lesson to learn; but there is no avenue of escape left open, and we must bear the instruction of the Great Master, simply because there is no help for us, and no way to evade the stroke of the inevitable. Sooner or later, death must overtake all, and perhaps it would suit us poor mortals better if we could choose the time; but that privilege is denied us. Our illustrious friend is gone forever from our midst. He

has passed away from the scenes of his trials, his toils, his triumphs and disappointments. After life's fitful fever he sleeps well. He is at peace, and the passions, the resentments, the slanders and the tempests of the world, can never more disturb his repose. And now it only remains for us to do justice to his splendid memory and to profit by the example of his pure life. I have been chosen as one among others more worthy, to cast a few flowers upon his honored grave. The task is a solemn one and I undertake it with feelings of melancholy pleasure.

George B. Smith was my friend, my trusted, intimate, honored friend. In his honor and integrity I placed the most implicit confidence and was never betrayed. When trouble and sorrow overtook me, and I felt myself sinking beneath the submerging waves of misfortune, I always found his rescuing hand outstretched ready to save. During twenty-five years we have been friends, and during that long period of time, no intentionally unkind act or harsh spoken word interrupted or marred the harmony of our affectionate intercourse.

The contribution I have to make to his memory, will be an offering of pure friendship. If there is anything in his life to criticise, I shall not perform the task. I owe him nothing but gratitude. If he committed errors and made mistakes, I shall not attempt to point them out. On the contrary, it would be far more congenial to my inclinations to draw the veil of impenetrable oblivion over them all, for now while I write here in the deep seclusion of my own room, my mental vision takes a retrospective journey over the long pathway of the unforgotten past, and oh, how often does grateful memory pause to water with its tears the flowers of friendship which his generous hand planted all along the way? In his death the public have suffered a great loss, and I have my share in that, but besides, and far beyond all that, it touches me in a much nearer and deeper sense as a "fee grief." I bore for him a deep and abiding affection. Had he been connected with me by the closest ties of consanguinity I could not have loved him more.

In entering upon my chosen task of writing something as a tribute of respect to the memory of our noble friend, a feel-

ing of oppression hangs heavy over me, and my nerveless hand almost refuses to perform its office. It is always so when the heart lies prostrate under the burden of some great affliction. All words are then too tame, and all languages too feeble to give fitting expression to thought and feeling. At such times we feel as if our ordinary vernacular tongue was altogether too unexpressive, and the soul longs for a language every word of which is pregnant with grief, instinct with the eloquence of sorrow. But alas! I must be content with the means at my command, and with the limited gifts that I possess. In speaking of the lamented dead, it is my purpose to tell only the exact truth, but, I could not, I repeat, if I would, say anything unkind, or let fall a word of censure. Indeed, it is pleasant to feel that I can give free scope to the sentiments of friendship, without running into an excess of praise or exaggerated encomium.

I think I knew George B. Smith well. Wide as was his fame, and high as he stood in public estimation, in my judgment, those who saw him at a distance failed to comprehend the full stature of his grand manhood. I stood close to him and had the honor to be numbered among his most intimate friends, and I could see the inner and nobler nature of the real man. In the society of his friends, he abandoned himself to the searching eye of the most critical observation. In that confidential circle, he put on no disguise, sought no concealment, but was as transparent as glass. On such occasions it seemed to be his delight to expose himself in the broad sunlight of open day. He put up no screen between himself and his friends, wore no mask, but with a charming abandon, born of conscious integrity, he discarded all reserve, and with frank unconcern submitted himself to the closest scrutiny of his confidential companions.

I have had the best of opportunities to judge of his character both intellectually and morally. I have seen him often upon the rostrum, at the bar and on the stump. I have met him again and again, in the social circle, in his office, and in the privacy of his own hospitable home, and at my own fireside. In every spot and every place, he never failed to meet all the requirements of my admiration and respect. I propose first to speak of his moral

qualities, and I have no hesitation in saying that he had not a "dishonest hair in his head," nor a mean trait in his character. George B. Smith was connected conspicuously with the early history of Wisconsin, when dissipation was so common that occasional excess was hardly criticised. Beginning his career in the midst of associations that were well calculated to lead any one astray from the path of strict social purity, yet he stood the severe test, and was never contaminated by the touch of pernicious example. He walked in the very midst of social evils, but covered as he was by the iron shield of his robust will, discomfited vice shrank from the attack, and left his character untouched.

He could listen to the voice of the syren when she sang of pleasure, but it was always with a firm hand that he thrust aside the proffered cup. His entire freedom from a single contaminating touch of intemperance, of licentiousness, or any social evil, alone mark him as an extraordinary man. If he possessed no other claim to distinction, this exceptional purity, this moral grandeur would elevate him above the roll of common men. In this particular respect General George B. Smith stands out a glorious example for the guidance of the youth of the State. His moral frame, bright, pure and lustrous as the morning star, shines around the strong, powerful and intellectual man like a halo. It is easier to be great than to be good, and the brilliant genius, the man of commanding talents and of superior natural endowments, who can control his own passions and resist successfully the tempting allurements of vice, and thus acquire genuine greatness, becomes indeed truly great, and a real hero, for he conquers himself. High on the roll of fame among the immortal few who have left behind them an unspotted reputation, the pen of truth and impartial justice, in letters of light, will write the name of General George B. Smith.

Indeed, his title to this moral rank is the more conspicuous because of his habits and associations. His genial temperament, his strong social inclinations, and his keen sense of humor, naturally led him to seek, as I have already said, the companionship of those among whom the revel ran high, and where wit and merriment abounded, and where the song, the story and the jest kept

the table in a roar. Among these, General Smith was always the merriest of the merry, but he resorted to no fictitious means, no external stimulus to enable him to keep up his part, but his humor and his sociality flowed spontaneously from the abundant resources of his genial nature. He was not unfrequently in the midst of such circles the only example of total sobriety, the only one strong enough to overcome and defy temptation.

The picture I have here drawn is but a feeble tribute to the moral worth of such a man and the value of such a reputation. It is a rich legacy, worth more than silver and gold, or houses and lands. It will endure long after the treasures of earth have passed away, and shed over and around his memory the unfading lustre of imperishable truth, when worldly riches have lost their power to comfort the soul or attract the eye. It is a holy flame, kindled by the quenchless torch of immortal virtue, and is sending its stream of pure light all along the pathway of the lamented dead, and it burns like a halo around his tomb.

It is not my purpose to enter into an elaborate analysis of the intellectual constitution of General Smith. His character as an orator, politician, statesman, and lawyer, I shall only touch upon in a general way, nor shall I in this article enter upon the historical details of his useful life. I only wish to present the inner and nobler nature of my friend. In all of his private relations, he was as nearly faultless as human nature in its best and purest conditions can well be. As a husband, he was immaculate in his fidelity to the vows he took upon himself at the altar of Hymen. His constancy, truth, and affectionate devotion to the lovely and amiable wife of his youth, through his whole life, and under all circumstances, were deep, sincere and manifest. The lapse of years and time's changes wrought no diminution in his tender love, his manly respect, for the woman of his early choice. The holy flame, which had been kindled in the first ardor of passionate youth, burned with an ever continuing lustre through his whole life, and was only extinguished by death. Chaste and pure as the fire upon the altar of Vesta it began, and unmingled with any darker flame so it shone to the end. In this relation was exemplified the beautiful description of Milton:

"Hail, wedded love! mysterious law, true source
 Of human offspring, sole propriety
 In Paradise of all things common else.
 By thee adulterous lust was driven from men,
 Among the bestial herds to range; by thee,
 Founded in reason, loyal, just and pure,
 Relations dear, and all the charities
 Of father, son, and brother, first were known.
 Here love his golden shaft employs, here lights
 His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings;
 Reigns here, and revels; not in the bought smile
 Of harlots, loveless, joyless, unendear'd."

But, indeed, it is perhaps enough for me to say in concluding this part of my theme touching the personal character of Gen. Smith, that whether as a husband, a father or a friend, he never failed in fidelity to truth and the obligations of duty. Toward his family his indulgent generosity was so profuse, that they, from prudential considerations had to check its manifestations. I shall dwell but briefly upon the public part of my friend's career in life. As an orator he possessed a remarkable force to charm the ear and enlist the attention. Always graceful in his appearance and easy in his gestures, there was an indefinable magnetism about his air, manner and address that won upon an audience unconsciously and at once.

He was extremely self-reliant, cool, and possessed, and seemed conscious that he could at will draw on his own plentiful resources. His voice was full, powerful and pleasant, and sometimes when he became excited, it swept over his audience like the blast of a bugle. He never sought the aid of ornament with which to illustrate or adorn his oratorical efforts, but employed the simple words that came to his lips for the purpose of conveying his thoughts to the understanding of his hearers. Mr. Smith was not gifted with what is called a brilliant imagination, but sometimes his strong sentences, plain and unadorned, produced effects as startling as if they had been couched in the burning language of lofty poetry. I always loved to hear him speak in public, no matter what the subject or the occasion. His air, his manner, and the open, bold and manly way he had of addressing

his hearers, impressed me with the full conviction that he felt and believed what he said. Now while I write these broken sentences, there sweeps down upon my throbbing heart a shock of irrepressible sadness when I remember that his eloquent voice is hushed forever in the silence of death, and that I shall never hear it again. Alas! alas! that it should be so. Why should he be stricken down in the prime and vigor of his mature manhood, in the very noon-tide of his success, and in the very midst of his usefulness? Why should the strong and vigorous oak, rich with the harvest of ripe fruit, and its spreading branches under which so many found shelter, why should that fall beneath the ax, when there are so many gnarled, crooked and worthless trees that survive to encumber the ground with their worthless lives? Who can tell?

Impelled by a strict sense of duty, I shall in this connection devote some space to the task of rescuing the pure memory of our departed friend from the odium of the only slander that ever clouded his bright fame. I should not allude to the subject at all, had it not been for the fact that several newspapers of the State have attempted to revive the unjust charge since his death. I refer to the election frauds of the Barstow and Bashford campaign. For reasons which I could never comprehend, General Smith was made the conspicuous object of attack in connection with those false returns. The cause of truth and right alone demand his full vindication from the foul charge. The slander should fall to the ground by its own weight. A man of his admitted sense and ability, of his honest and noble nature, could no more be guilty of originating or consenting to a known fraud than the bright sun could cohabit with darkness. Between him and fraud there stood an impassable wall. Every instinct of his heart, every aspiration of his soul, and every thought of his strong mind were against it. What evidence has ever been given tending even to convict him of complicity with these election frauds? None whatever that would be even considered in any court of impartial justice. On the contrary, a thorough investigation by a partisan committee, urged on by party and rancor, failed to elicit a fact or circumstance showing complicity or guilty knowledge on his part. In the result of the then pending canvass,

where the false votes were counted, Mr. Smith had no possible personal interest, contingent or remote. He was not a candidate for office in that election, and he could not be personally benefited or harmed whichever way it went. And yet, strange as it may seem, and flagrantly unjust as it really is, he has had to bear the chief odium of those frauds. He was made the object of suspicion merely, for proof there was none. Now against this partisan suspicion, I confidently and proudly oppose his blameless life, his uniform integrity, and the pure and spotless moral reputation he has earned for himself. No man can be politically bad and dishonest who is morally pure.

The traits of character that prompt the commission of one villainous act, would inevitably lead to others. Initiating or even tacitly consenting to a known fraud, indicates a bad heart, and a lack of moral integrity absolutely incompatible with the whole character of our deceased friend. His more than ordinary pure life—his fidelity to truth and his steadfast virtue, and his naturally open, bold, and manly bearing in all situations, furnish a complete answer to this *one* proofless slander. Is it not, indeed, time that the voice of detraction should be hushed, and this one great libel forever set at rest, and that the vindicated character of Gen. Smith should be allowed to shine forth with its natural lustre? It is perhaps true that

"No might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure 'scape; back-wounding calumny
The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue?"

And yet truth must prevail in the end, and then the one shadow that for a time darkened the fair fame of the lamented dead, will roll away forever, leaving his memory free, unsullied and unobscured.

And here I would leave the subject, but I deem it my duty to add what Gen. Smith told me about the matter, years after the event transpired. This was said in the privacy of his room. In substance it was this: He said that he "did not know of, or believe, that fraud had been committed until some time after the canvass; and then," continued he, "when I became aware of the real truth, the cold sweat started from every pore of my body."

This was said in a tone, a manner and words that carried complete conviction of its truth to my heart. I believed him then, fully and absolutely believed him, and no doubt or suspicion of his truth ever afterwards changed my mind on the subject.

One conspicuous trait in the character of Mr. Smith I have omitted to mention, and it is one that adds largely to the royal nobility of his nature. I allude to his kindness of heart, and his disinclination to say or do anything that was calculated to pain or wound the feelings of others. A touching little incident will furnish a better illustration of this trait than anything I can say. I met him in Milwaukee about three weeks before his death. He seemed in unusual health and spirits. After the first friendly greetings were over, he said, while his brow saddened, and a shadow of regret swept over his strong features: "A circumstance occurred, while on my way here today, that has left a very painful impression on my mind." I asked him what it was. "I will tell you," answered he. "A lady got on the train at Milton Junction, and as she came into the car where I sat, she bowed to me, and as I was taken somewhat by surprise, for I did not recognize her, I neglected to return her salutation; but afterwards, when too late to correct my seeming impoliteness, it flashed into my mind who she was, and that I had known her very well when she was in better circumstances than now. It pained me exceedingly to think that my neglect might have wounded her feelings, and even now, if I knew her address, I would write her a letter of apology, for I feel bad about it." I replied that he would doubtless have the opportunity hereafter to correct the error. "At all events," answered he, "I feel better for having told you about it."

A few words more, and my mournful task is ended. It would be impossible to do full justice to the worth, integrity and ability of such a man as General Smith, within the limits to which I am confined.

I can only add here, that in his character were most happily combined all the elements of true and noble manhood. He was true to his own convictions, true to his family and friends, true to

his party and his profession, and true in all the relations of life, whether public or private. I do not believe that he ever failed to perform what he honestly believed to be his duty to the full extent of his power. A mind gifted with rare intellectual power, a heart quickly and keenly alive to every generous impulse, a moral courage that eschewed fear and defied temptation, a character upon which vice could fix no impress and has left no stain, and a disposition bright, cheerful and unsuspecting, such was our genial, social, lamented friend, Gen. Geo. B. Smith.

"See what a grace was seated on this brow:
Hyperion's curls; the front of Jove himself;
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command;
A stature like the herald Mercury,
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;
A combination, and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man."

Mr. R. M. Bashford submitted the following remarks:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the State Historical Society:

Hon. George B. Smith was one of the earliest and most distinguished pioneer settlers of this State. Before he had arrived at manhood's years, or had completed his professional studies, he removed to what was then the Territory of Wisconsin, from the State of Ohio, where he had passed his youth from earliest infancy. He commenced the practice of the law in this city, and his whole active life was spent among our people. He was one of a class of men who have made the Great West known and honored throughout the world; men who have literally grown up with the country, a country, too, in whose brief history has been epitomized the tedious and painful progress of centuries in the march of older nations from barbarism to civilization.

The early opportunities of Gen. Smith for acquiring an education must have been somewhat limited; they were such as a country village on the frontier could furnish forty years ago. If the higher branches were taught there, it is not probable he gave them much attention, as he quit school at the age of eighteen

to begin the study of his profession. His education was of that kind that is usually acquired with little aid from the school-master. It was the same sort of training that the early lawyers, statesmen and divines of the West were compelled to pursue. A few terms' attendance at the common school, a year or two devoted to the study of a profession, and then a launch out into the world to further develop their powers in its rugged contests. There was no graduation in this course; education was a life-work. It was such training as this that developed men like Jackson and Clay and Douglas and Lincoln. It lacked the drill and discipline, the deep learning and culture of the college, but it supplied a knowledge of human nature, and a ready fund of practical information; it preserved the individuality of the man, and forced into active growth his strongest faculties. He who could by his own unaided efforts overcome the disadvantages of frontier settlement and rise to distinction in public and professional life, must have been endowed with great natural ability and force of character. A process of education, however, which fostered and promoted such intellectual development under circumstances so unfavorable, is worthy of respectful consideration. It did not stimulate a hot-bed growth; it had no tendency to fashion every mind in the same mould, to smother genius, and to root out that intense individuality which is the germ of true greatness in man.

Gen. Smith was self-educated; he had chosen his own studies and pursuits, and grown to the full maturity of his powers with little assistance or direction from others. He was perhaps, never a close student of books, he certainly was not during the later years of his life. He seemed to have more capacity to learn than inclination to study. He had evidently pursued the common and higher branches of learning only so far as he deemed them useful in his profession; and after his admission to the bar, he studied law only as it was necessary in the argument and trial of his causes. His knowledge was not, therefore, profound, it was not always accurate, but it was varied, extensive and practical. His personality was not lost in his attainments, but gave direction and character to all his learning. His acquirements could not over-shadow his native talents; and in an emergency he relied less on memory than upon mother-wit.

Before he had reached his majority, Gen. Smith was admitted to the bar, and a year or two later opened an office in Madison. His talents and ability soon won for him honor and distinction in his chosen profession. When but twenty-two years old he was appointed to the office of district attorney for Dane County, and discharged its arduous duties in a manner so successful and satisfactory to the people that he was continued in the same position for six years. A further proof of the high regard entertained for the ability of the young lawyer by his early acquaintances was his election in 1846 as a member of the first constitutional convention for Dane County. He was the youngest member of that able body of men, but he made his influence felt in their deliberations. It was largely through his efforts in that convention and subsequently in a private capacity that the provision in our State constitution relating to the exemption of property from execution was incorporated in that instrument. The protection thus afforded the poor debtor and his family encouraged immigration, promoted the material development of the State and ensured the permanent prosperity of its people. It showed the wisdom and foresight of the young legislator, not less than his broad philanthropy and his deep sympathy with those in poverty and distress. The service he thus rendered the infant Commonwealth was a great and lasting benefit, and will be the most enduring monument of his public life.

In 1853, the popular young attorney was called to the discharge of the responsible duties of the office of attorney general of the State, and held the position two years, declining a renomination. This term of public service, Gen. Smith in after life considered a great misfortune to himself, owing to the charges made against his official conduct by the opposition press, in connection with the frauds alleged to have been perpetrated to secure the re-election of Gov. Barstow. That he was ignorant of any attempt to manufacture fraudulent returns was never a matter of doubt in the minds of those most familiar with all the circumstances, and who best knew the character of the man. But that such an attempt should have been made, aroused popular indignation, and the public is never very discriminating in meting out punishment

for such offenses. Suspicion is aroused, confidence in those holding high official stations is shaken, and the slightest circumstance is accepted as conclusive proof. Gen. Smith's prominence, and his activity as a politician, made him a conspicuous object of attack by the opposition press, and this was the only charge that could be brought against his official conduct. It is not strange, therefore, in the heated political controversies of the past twenty-five years, that this single imputation should be made the most of; that it should be hurled against him whenever he was a candidate for the suffrages of the people. It was not as an open, direct accusation, but with the facts perverted, and with every circumstance distorted and magnified, that he was compelled to meet the insinuations of guilty complicity in an attempted fraud upon the ballot box. It is always hard to silence the tongue of calumny, when prompted by malice, and it was a great source of annoyance and pain to Gen. Smith that he should ever be called upon to refute a slander groundless in fact, and damaging only in the coloring that was given to acts which were prompted by the purest motives, and to circumstances for which he was in no wise accountable. The people of Madison, however, never lost confidence in the man, but showered their honors thick upon him. Four times was he elected to the office of mayor, in 1858, 1859, 1860, and in 1878, being the only citizen of the capital who ever enjoyed this distinction. In 1859, he was also chosen as a member of the assembly, and was again elected to that office in 1864, and in 1869. As a legislator he was able and influential, and never failed to meet the highest expectations of an exacting constituency.

Notwithstanding the hostile criticism of the opposition press, Gen. Smith's standing and influence in his own party was not shaken. His political friends had absolute confidence in his personal integrity and in the rectitude of his official conduct. He was frequently chosen a delegate to the conventions of his party, and labored with unfaltering zeal to maintain the organization intact under the most discouraging circumstances, and in the face of overwhelming defeat. He accepted a nomination for Congress in 1864, and again in 1872, and made a thorough and vigorous canvass, though he could not hope to overcome the opposition major-

ity in the district. With no better prospect of success, he consented to run as a candidate for presidential elector in 1868, and again in 1872, and in both instances stumped the State for the ticket. Such was his devotion to principle, and his fidelity to the party which represented his political views. In 1869 Gen. Smith received the unanimous vote of his party in the legislature as a candidate for the United States senate, in opposition to the Hon. Matt. H. Carpenter, the successful candidate; and repeatedly represented the State in the national conventions of his party. While he was thus able, active, zealous and popular, Gen. Smith was still lacking in some of the elements of successful party leadership. If he aspired to that distinction he ignored some of the most effective means by which it is usually acquired. The considerations of policy had little weight with him. He was not disposed to be a time-server, and would rather suffer defeat in a just cause than to triumph through the sacrifice of cherished principles. The key of politics he first touched he steadfastly adhered to without variation. He possessed little sympathy with the progressive tendencies of political associates, and at times jeopardized his standing in the party by his extreme conservatism. Nor did he seek a personal following in the party. He cultivated no place-men. He never, during the later years of his life, accepted a nomination when he did not feel that he was rendering a service to the common cause, and therefore recognized no personal obligation to others for their support of his candidacy. In a successful candidate, this independence of character would have been charged to indifference and ingratitude to friends, and might have weakened or destroyed his influence. Should public men generally pursue a like course, official life would be relieved from one of its greatest burdens and annoyances. The disposing of the spoils would then cease to be one of the most difficult and arduous duties connected with a high and responsible office. The ambitious politician, however, who attempts to inaugurate the reform will jeopardize his party standing and endanger his future popularity and success.

In 1876, Hon. George B. Smith was chosen as a delegate for the State at large to represent the party in the national convention which met at St. Louis, and during the session made one of

the happiest efforts of his life in seconding the nomination of Gov. Tilden for the presidency. Indeed the impression he then made upon the convention was so favorable, and his reputation and prominence so generally recognized, that had Gov. Hendricks declined the nomination for vice-president, Gen. Smith would doubtless have been accorded that place upon the national ticket. But had he been nominated and elected to that high office, he would not have been more loved and honored, or his loss more deeply deplored by this Society, or by the community, in which he had lived so long and was known so well. His noble qualities of mind and heart would have been more widely esteemed, but they would not have been more kindly cherished or more fondly remembered by his old neighbors and friends. Had he held high official station, there would have been no feeling of estrangement between him and them, for they knew he was worthy of the most exalted position, and honored him the more because he would not sacrifice his principles for political preferment. But had the public service called him elsewhere, there would have been less of that feeling of local pride and intimate friendship surrounding our late distinguished fellow-citizen, which, mingling with the profound grief we feel over his departure from among us, deepens the dark shadow of a great calamity into the heavy gloom of a personal bereavement.

The position to which Gen. Smith so rapidly rose in his chosen profession, and which he continued to maintain, at a bar distinguished for its learning, ability and eloquence, is the highest proof of the native talents of the man. But it was not in the court room only that his true character as a lawyer was displayed; his broad views, his fairness and impartiality, and his instinctive honesty made him a very safe counsel for those in difficulty. His candor and courage in giving advice professionally, showed the metal that was in him, and exhibited, at the same time, a thorough knowledge of human nature. He would say to his most wealthy and influential client, "you are wrong," in a manner so decided and firm, that it would inspire confidence in his judgment, and carry conviction without giving offense. He was always honorable, frank and courteous in his intercourse with other mem-

bers of the bar, and regarded his word as sacred as the most solemn written stipulation. In a trial, however, he was a most formidable antagonist, and dealt the heaviest blows. It was in the court room and before a jury that he felt most at home, and appeared to best advantage as an orator. Here he acquired his earliest and highest reputation, and his fame as a lawyer will rest upon his great power as an advocate, rather than upon the learning and ability he displayed as a jurist.

The great advocate seldom leaves in his written speeches any fitting monument of his life-work. The eloquence of his tongue, and the effect it has produced in controlling the actions of men, lives only in tradition. This is especially true of Gen. Smith, who seldom committed his speeches to writing either before or after delivery. His ability as an orator may safely rest upon the solid reputation acquired at the bar and maintained for more than a quarter of a century. During that period, however, he also discussed with great force and ability every question of a political or social character that agitated the public. Such of his speeches and addresses as have been published, have been received with great favor even by the most critical; but those that have heard him most frequently will concur in the statement, that his best efforts can never be reproduced on paper. It was his fine presence, his quick and accurate perception, his perfect self-reliance and his native eloquence, that gave Gen. Smith his great power over the jury as well as the popular audience. His style and manner were forcible, yet pleasing and persuasive. He grasped the main points in his argument tenaciously, and never lost sight of them; but his speeches were seldom finished in matters of detail. He was not logical in little things. In minor matters some of his utterances might appear inconsistent, even contradictory at times, but the great controlling ideas of the speech were always in exact harmony. But what was lacking in completeness and polish of style was more than compensated for by the force and eloquence of Gen. Smith's oratory. His power over an audience was wonderful, and it had its secret spring in his own masterly self-command. Though he addressed multitudes of excited men in the most turbulent times, he was never carried away by the crowd.

In the presidential campaign of 1864 he presided over a mass meeting in the capitol park which was constantly interrupted and violently disturbed by newly enlisted soldiers from Camp Randall; and had it not been for his presence, bearing and address on that occasion a serious collision could hardly have been avoided. The moral grandeur of the man never shone forth with greater luster than when he stood before the excited and almost infuriated multitude and commanded peace and order and obedience to law.

The professional and political career of Gen. Smith, though national in character and already a matter of State history and State pride, will be less enduring than his fame as a private citizen. And if the wishes of the deceased could be consulted, he would doubtless have it so. No man placed a higher estimate upon the honor, the dignity and the usefulness of independent citizenship in a free country. Public position may afford broader opportunities, and carry with it higher responsibilities, but it almost necessarily circumscribes the sphere of action to the narrow limits of party politics. The moral grandeur and intellectual greatness of Charles Sumner could not overstep these bounds without losing the suffrages and the support of the most conscientious, the most cultured constituency on the globe. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the earliest, the ablest and most loyal advocate of the abolition of human slavery in this country, will outlive the men who were carried into power and place when his teachings became popular. Whether or not he ever held public office is forgotten in the recollection of the great service he rendered to the cause of human freedom. His name is linked with a great idea, and it will stand as the representative of an important era in the world's progress when the renowned of his age shall slumber in unremembered graves. There was none of that radicalism in Gen. Smith's nature which originates great reforms, and still less of that burning enthusiasm that inspires the zealot and the martyr. He, however, possessed a character which, though less rare, is hardly less useful in a democracy. With deep convictions and firmness of purpose, he united an independence of thought, and an impartiality of judgment, which enables a man to be truly conservative without being wholly indifferent to public affairs. Such, during the later years of his life, was the position

Hon. George B. Smith was content to occupy in the civil state. Not aspiring to lead the masses, he protested against being led by them into the support of measures which he believed to be opposed to sound principle, and fraught with evil to the commonwealth.

Of the man as he was, as he appeared every day, passing in and out among us, how shall we speak in fitting terms? To attempt an analysis of his character would be to do him an injustice, as he possessed no single faculty peculiarly marked or unusually developed. Those might easily be named among his old associates in whom some particular talent has been much more conspicuous. But the just harmony of excellent qualities, the symmetrical development of all the powers of the man, distinguished him from all the prominent gentlemen with whom his active life was cast. In such a character, it is difficult to locate the secret energy that vitalizes every faculty, and inspires the whole man. He was strong in body, strong in mind, and strong in the generous impulses of a great heart, and stronger yet in the harmonious union of all the powers to form a noble manhood. The unspotted purity of private life, the kindly feeling, the warm sympathy, the unbounded charity and good-will that found expression in every word and deed, endeared him to all with whom he came in contact, and these shall perpetuate his name and fame among men. He was always genial and companionable. He enlivened conversation with wit and pleasantry, but never even in jest intentionally uttered a word that could wound the feelings of another. If envy or ill-will ever found a lodgment in his breast, they were smothered in the generous impulses of a benevolent and overflowing heart. He was not incapable of anger, but his strong passions were under complete control, and were counterbalanced by an unbounded good nature. Who among us, even of the mildest disposition, carries less of personal malice or resentment? Who possesses more kindness of heart, more real charity for our fellow-men? That such a man should have been idolized in his own household, where his daily life was the constant manifestation of every generous and noble impulse, and of the purest and tenderest affection of a great and overflowing soul, is only too deeply

attested by the unspeakable sorrow of those who survive. Cato, who lived in an age when the state demanded the service of the highest talents, and when the charms of private life were obscured by the splendor of public station, declared that he would rather be a good husband than a great senator. Such was unquestionably the heartfelt sentiment of our deceased friend. No preferment, however flattering, no position, however exalted, no temptation, however gilded, could ever for one moment supplant in his mind and heart the purity, the happiness, the peace and love that centered around his own hearthstone.

Hon. George B. Smith was not afraid to die; he felt prepared for the great change. To an intimate and life-long friend, shortly after the last attack, he so expressed himself. He said it was a matter of very little consequence when a man died, if he had lived as he ought; that life was no chance work; that there was a great architect over and beyond it all.

His life-work was indeed finished, and though he knew it not, he was only awaiting the summons. He has gone in the full possession of all his faculties, in the full vigor of a mature and honored manhood. It is a loss, not to him, but to those who remain to mourn his untimely departure. His life was one of usefulness, of happiness and of honor, and, sustained by an unfaltering trust, he approached the grave,

"Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

Ancient Copper Mines of Lake Superior

John Jacob Houghton

It is proper to remark that the following paper was written by Mr. Houghton for Mr. A. P. Swineford's work on "The Mineral Region of Lake Superior," first appearing in the *Marquette Mining Journal* early in 1876. By the writer's consent, it finds a place in this connection.

Mr. Houghton, the writer, is a brother of the lamented Dr. Douglas Houghton, of Michigan, and when only seventeen, accompanied him to Lake Superior in his valuable geological and mineralogical explorations in 1844; and ever since his brother's unfortunate death in 1845, Mr. Jacob Houghton has been intimately connected with the mining interests of Lake Superior, though not always residing there; and, from time to time, opened a large number of "ancient mining pits" in the Lake Superior copper region, and became deeply interested in the study and investigation of the ancient copper mines and their products, of that section of the country. It was an interesting field for such study, and it is apparent that he availed himself of the rare opportunity with more than ordinary zeal and success. For over a year past Mr. Houghton has had the superintendency of the Moose Mining Company, at Dudley, Colorado.

Schoolcraft, in the fifth volume of his *History of the Indian Tribes*, pp. 395-396, remarks: "Recent discoveries in the basin of Lake Superior, denote that these veins [of native copper] have been pursued by miners in ancient times, in their natural courses, with more skill and energy than belongs to the Indian race. Vestiges of ancient mines have been discovered of so important a character, in this basin, that modern miners have paused in astonishment to behold them. The subject appears destined to shed more light, indeed, on the aboriginal history, than even the mounds of the West; for it denotes the application of a peculiar system of labor which was never in known periods, a characteristic of savage tribes, in which, at the best, they could only have been employed as auxiliaries." L. C. D.

Geologists now find that the antiquity of man far antedates the era assigned to his creation by the received chronology, and submit the evidences of their belief to an enlightened public sentiment. However strange these new views with regard to the origin and history of our race may appear, they cannot be disregarded. We must weigh the value of observations, and press them to their legitimate conclusions. The investigator at this day must not be trammelled, in the language of Humboldt, by "an assemblage of dogmas bequeathed from one age to another"—"by a physical philosophy made up of popular errors."—J. W. FOSTER.

The preparation of this paper is undertaken at the urgent solicitation of the editor of this work. The limits into which it is necessary to condense the facts, and the deductions therefrom, are unavoidably contracted. To fully elucidate the subject, and to present the comparative proofs, would require a work of many pages, and involve an amount of labor that could be only given by those who have at their disposal the time to devote to the most fascinating study of the day—the prehistoric races of man. This will be more fully appreciated when the general statement is made, that the traces which the ancient copper miners of Lake Superior have left of the work performed by them, indicate an intelligent and industrious race; that their mining labors extended through centuries of time; that there was a general movement to the southward, through a vast number of years, of the greater portion of the people; that on the route of this transition they have left a wonderful record of their works, proving an advancing and increasing intelligence, indicated by the ancient mounds throughout the United States, and the ultimate achievement, in the erection of massive structures of Mexico and Central America. This advancement is also indicated in the lesser arts, in the gradual improvement in the numbers, forms and embellishments of the utensils of the household, and of ornaments for the person. Therefore, treating the subject with the brevity required, the writer will make no excuse for the use of postulates, while at the same time feeling confident that sufficient connected proofs exist to warrant the assumption that they may be made.

On the south shore of Lake Superior the works of the ancient miners extend over a district of country comprising what is known as the Trap Range, having a length of one hundred and fifty miles through Keweenaw, Houghton, and Ontonagon counties, with a varying width of from four to seven miles. They also wrought the copper deposits of the Trap Range of Isle Royal, covering an area of about forty miles in length by an average of five miles in width. Their mining operations were crude and primitive. The process was to heat the embedding rocks by building fires on the out-crops of the veins or belts, to partially disintegrate the rocks by contraction produced by the sudden throwing on of water,

and to complete the removal of the pieces of native copper by mauling off the adhering particles of rock with stone hammers. This is attested by the presence, in all of the ancient pits, of large quantities of charcoal, and of numberless hammers, the latter showing marks of long usage. That the miners had not advanced to any knowledge of the artificial elevation of water, is shown by the fact that apparently, in all cases, the pits have only been sunk to a depth where the limit of man-power in bailing out the water, is reached. Between the successive pits are ridges of unremoved rock and soil, rather indicating that they were left as dams to prevent the water from passing from a pit already filled with water into one in process of being wrought.

The pits, the charcoal, the stone hammers, and the implements and tools made of copper, are the only relics left of the race that wrought these mines. Neither a grave, vestige of a habitation, skeleton or bone has been found. Among the Indians inhabiting the region, from the earliest acquaintance of the white man, neither tradition or legend remained of these ancient miners. The Indians themselves had no knowledge of the existence of copper in the veins and belts, so thoroughly had the debris of ages covered them. Their knowledge was confined to the float pieces of copper in the soil.

When considering the extent of country previously stated, over which this mining work extended, the crude and slow process of the labor and the enormous amount of work performed, it becomes evident that the work extended through centuries of time, and was carried on by a vast number of people. The largest aggregation of ancient pits yet discovered, is on what is known as the Mining Belt on Isle Royal. Here, for a distance of one and three-quarters miles, and for an average width of four hundred feet, the successive pits indicate the mining out of the belt (solid rock) to an average depth of no less than twenty feet. Scattered over this ground are battered stone hammers, numberless, but running into the millions.

It is not to be presumed that these ancient people were unacquainted with the advantages of the division of labor. There were undoubtedly miners, bailers of water, and men whose part it

was to manufacture tools and implements out of the pieces of rough native copper by the miners. Others were engaged in procuring and transporting food and other necessities of life, and still others were employed in collecting and transporting from the shores of the lake the rounded, water-worn boulders of diorite and porphyry, which were used by the miners as **hammers and sledges**.

Many of these stone hammers have been grooved by manual attrition or impact for the purpose of fastening them into withes or split handles, but by far the greater number are unwrought, rounded boulders which have been held in the hand when in use. Mr. A. C. Davis, now of the Menong mine, informed me that at one place, near the mouth of the Ontonagon River, he had seen quite an area of ground strewn with stone chips and broken and discarded pieces of diorite and porhyry, indicating it to have been a workshop for preparing the hammers before being transported inland.

The ancient miners made few mistakes in the selection of deposits to be wrought. In almost every instance, in the places where they had carried on extensive mine work, have been wrought the successful mines of these latter days. This fact is often quoted to advance the idea that those ancient people were gifted with some mysterious knowledge, by which they were able to discover and trace out mineral veins and lodes. This day, when the divining rod is lost to faith, and the mysteries of the alchemist have been opened to full light by the science of chemistry, should be too late for such a superstition. The explorers of today have, as aids to discovery, the dip and traverse needles, and still the most experienced and observing of them in the reconnoissance of the surface which overlies beds of magnetic iron ore, where the needles develop the most actively, are simply enabled to approximate conclusions; and are only satisfied when a full development has been made by a system of costeaning. It may be considered improbable that the ancient miners possessed any aid approaching to the value of the magnetic needles of the present day. It is far more reasonable to assume that the ancient miners, following comparatively close upon the recession of the glaciers, occupied the country at a period before the action of the elements had dis-

integrated the surface of the rocks, and when the mineral veins and beds or belts were exposed to view. In this connection should be stated the fact, that, without exception, the copper deposits of the country are contained between the walls of hard rocks (crystalline trap) that have served the purpose of withstanding, to a great extent, the grinding force of the glaciers. In consequence of this protection, they occupy the high points of the country, and are now covered with a comparatively small depth of soil, the product of the disintegration of the rocks themselves; while the valleys of the rivers, and the lowlands bordering on the lake, have a greater depth of drift, probably the deposits of the receding glacial period. At the time the ancient miners were carrying on their work, under a climate milder and far more inviting than now, these high points were destitute of soil or trees, and for timber and fuel for their mining work they resorted to the valleys of the streams, and the lowlands bordering the great lake—where, also, were carried on their agricultural pursuits.

The implements and tools into which the pieces of native copper thus worn from the rocks were fabricated, were axes, knives, chisels, fleshers, spears, daggers, arrow-heads, awls, needles and bracelets. These tools are found scattered in wonderful profusion, from Lake Superior to Central America, and from eastern Pennsylvania on the east, to Arizona on the west. In 1870, I saw at Pittston, Pennsylvania, several of these tools, that had been recovered from the soil in that vicinity and in a newspaper correspondence from Arizona, in the winter of 1874-5 (*Detroit Free Press*), I was not in the least surprised to see mentioned the discovery, in that Territory, of what was called by the correspondent, a copper fountain. It matters not for what purpose the articles may have been used; the fact of the find is sufficient for the present purpose. These tools, however, have been found in the greatest numbers buried in the works of the mound builders throughout Wisconsin, Lake Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Tennessee, West Virginia, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Bernal Diaz, who accompanied Cortez in his expedition for the

conquest of Mexico, says that upon entering Tuspan they found that "each Indian had, besides his ornaments of gold, a *copper* axe, which was very highly polished, with handles curiously carved, as if to serve equally for an ornament and for the field of battle. We first thought that these axes were made of an inferior kind of gold; we therefore commenced taking them in exchange, and in the space of ten days had collected *more than six hundred*, with which we were no less rejoiced, as long as we were ignorant of their real value, than the Indians with our glass beads."

When Columbus in his fourth voyage, was visited at the Guanaja islands by a trading canoe of Yucatan, the crew, according to Herrera, had small hatchets made of copper, small bells and plates.

That the copper from which these tools, scattered over such a vast area of country, were manufactured, came from the ancient mines of Superior, does not admit of doubt. Although large and numerous deposits of copper ore are scattered through Arizona, New Mexico, Mexico, and Central and South America, there is no evidence that the aborigines of the country had sufficient metallurgical knowledge or skill to reduce the ores to refined copper. On the other hand, the great Creator, for provision to the wants of that ancient race, had planted on the shores of Lake Superior the only known workable deposits of native copper in the world. The term virgin copper is well used to denote its purity. In the latter day it out-ranks all others in the world.

The occurrence of this native metal in segregations of various weights, enabled the ancient miner to easily follow the deposit, and to readily separate the pieces of metal from the containing rocks. These segregations were peculiarly adapted for the use of the forgers of the tools. The extreme ductility of the metal, due to its purity, was also a provision of great advantage to the ancient artisan. In examining the tools that have been recovered, one is involuntarily amazed at the perfection of workmanship, and at their identity in form with the tools made for like purposes and used at the present day, the prototypes of the implements of our present civilization. The sockets of the spears, chisels, arrow-heads, knives and fleshers are, in nearly all instances, formed as

symmetrically and perfectly as could be done by the best smith of the present day, with all of the improved aids to his hand. The sockets of these tools, however, are in all instances left open on one side, showing no attempt at welding or brazing.

While acknowledging that the greater portion of these tools were forged from the native metal, several investigators of the subject assert that many of them were cast. Their position is principally based on the observation of certain raised marks upon the tools, which are claimed to be the marks of the joining of molds. The writer believes that the weight of evidence is against the theory of melting and casting. It is probable that the raised marks are due to unequal oxidation, or to incompleteness of fabrication. Had the tools which are made with sockets been cast, it is reasonable to suppose that the sockets would have been cast complete. Without exception the sockets all open on one side; on the sides of the open part lips are turned sufficient for holding the handles. The presence of spots of native silver in the tools, is against the theory of casting. Native silver to a large extent is present with the copper throughout the region, and always as a distinct and separate metal, occurring in macules and strings upon and through the copper. In melting for casting the two metals would form an alloy, and as the proportion of copper would be the greatest, the silver would not be visible. In all of the relics of the mound builders there is no evidence of any vessels that would serve the purposes of crucibles or melting pots. In excavating the mounds, pieces of galena are frequently reported to have been found lying in the immediate vicinity of the copper tools, but there is no record of any lead implements, whatever. When it is considered that the melting point of lead is only 594 degrees Fahrenheit, while that of copper is 2,548 degrees, it would certainly be remarkable if the ancient race had progressed so far in metallurgy as to melt the latter, and had failed to melt and utilize the former. None of the tools are hardened; they are simply pure native copper. Any process of alloying the copper with tin or zinc, for the purpose of hardening, was entirely unknown to the race.

It is an established fact that in the Old World (a gross misno-

mer as applied to the age of the Eastern hemisphere when compared with that of the Western hemisphere) man in the stone age existed contemporaneously with the Siberian elephant, Siberian rhinoceros, mammoth, cave bear, etc., while scientists have been loth to concede the existence of the mound builders have been, not rightfully, assigned to the more recent age of bronze.

Mr. J. W. Foster, in speaking of the discovery, in Illinois, of a copper knife and a bone of a mastodon, in the same geological formation, and separated from each other but a few miles, says: "One of two suppositions is true—either that there has been an intermingling of the relics of two distinct ages, or that if the synchronism is established, man on this continent as a contemporary with the mastodon was far in advance in the mechanical arts of man as the contemporary of the fossil elephant on the European continent."

The existence of copper tools among the relics of the mound builders has been the stumbling block in this matter. In these metal implements of man in the stone age in America, there was only the advance over the man of the stone age in Europe, that was due to the obtaining of *native copper* that could be hammered and drawn out into the desired shapes without any resort to the process of metallurgy. It was with a view to this point that I have throughout this paper endeavored to constantly impress upon the reader the fact of the purity and ductility of the native copper. It was also for this that I so fully discussed above the reasons that lie against the theory of the melting of the copper and the casting of the tools. The relics of the stone age left by the mound builders are the stone hammers used for mining copper, and for hammering out copper tools—axes, hatchets, fleshers, pestles for pulverizing maize, chisels, knives, arrow-heads, amulets, pendants, pipes, etc.—a list of sufficient extent to warrant the claim for the mound builder of the high antiquity of the stone age, and *at least* of a contemporaneous existence with the prehistoric man of Europe. As proof of the contemporaneous existence in this country of man with the mastodon, the following extracts are given from a paper of the late Dr. Koch, of St. Louis, Missouri, communicated to the St. Louis Academy of Sciences:

“In the year 1839 I discovered in Gasconade County, Missouri, at a spot in the bottom of the Bourbeuse River, where there was a spring distant about four hundred yards from the bank of the river, the remains of the above named animals. The bones were sufficiently well preserved to enable me to decide positively that they belonged to the *mastodon giganteus*. Some remarkable circumstances were connected with the discovery. The greater portion of these bones had been more or less burned by fire. The fire had extended but a few feet beyond the space occupied by the animal before its destruction, and there was more than sufficient evidence on the spot that the fire had not been an accidental one, but on the contrary, that it had been kindled by human agency, and, according to all appearance, with the design of killing the huge creature, which had been found mired in the mud, and in an entirely helpless condition. This was sufficiently proven by the situation in which I found, as well those parts of the bones untouched by fire, as those which were more or less injured by it, or in part consumed; for I found the fore legs of the animal in a perpendicular position in the clay, with the toes attached to the feet, just in the manner in which they were when life departed from the body. I took particular care in uncovering the bones to ascertain their position beyond any doubt before I removed any part of them, and it appeared during the whole excavation fully evident that at the time when the animal in question found its untimely end, the ground in which it had been mired must have been in a plastic condition, being now a grayish colored clay. All the bones which had not been burned by the fire had kept their original position, standing upright, and apparently quite undisturbed in the clay; whereas those portions which had been extended above the surface had been partially consumed by the fire, and the surface of the clay was covered, as far as the fire had extended, by a layer of wood ashes, mingled with a layer of smaller pieces of charred wood and burnt bones, together with bones belonging to the spine, ribs and other parts of the body which had been more or less injured by the fire.

“The fire appears to have been most destructive around the head of the animal. Some small remains of the head were left

unconsumed, but enough to show that they belonged to the mastodon. There were also found, mingled with the ashes and bones, and partially protruding out of them, a large number of broken pieces of rock, which had evidently been carried thither from the shore of the Bourbeuse River, to be hurled at the animal by his destroyers, for the above-mentioned layer of clay was entirely void even of the smallest pebbles; whereas, on going to the river I found the stratum of clay cropping out of the bank and resting on a layer of shelving rocks of the same kind as the fragments, from which place it was evident they had been carried to the scene of action. The layers of ashes, etc., varied in thickness from two to six inches, from which it may be inferred that the fire had been kept up for some length of time. It seemed that the burning of the victim and the hurling of rocks at it had not satisfied the destroyers, for I found also among the ashes, bones and rocks, several arrow-heads, a stone spear-head and stone axes, which were taken out in the presence of a number of witnesses, consisting of the people of the neighborhood, attracted by the novelty of the excavation. The layer of ashes, etc., was covered by a strata of alluvial deposits, consisting of clay, sand and soil from eight to nine feet thick."

The preceding statements and reasonings are, therefore, sufficient for the position that the ancient miners and mound builders were contemporaneous with the mastodon, and were occupying this country at a period corresponding with the stone age of Europe.

The mound builders were not confined to the occupation of the country lying to the south of Lake Superior. Well attested and authenticated statements are made of the existence of the well-known artificial mounds in the valley of the Red River of the North, throughout Dakota, Montana, and British Columbia. It is possible that future explorers may trace their works still farther to the Northwest than investigators of this day dare predict.

It is generally conceded that during the glacial period, North America was covered with ice between the Rocky Mountains and the Atlantic coast, and from the north pole nearly to the tropics. There is sufficient evidence to suggest the belief that man inhabited

the tropics as early, at least, as the latter portion of the glacial period. On the recession and disappearance of the glaciers, probably accompanied with a subsidence, beneath the ocean, of a large portion of the northern continent, and followed by a modified, warm and genial climate, man, together with the mastodon, mammoth, etc., moved north and occupied the land to a comparative high latitude. This movement, of course, occupied many ages. Subsequently there was a gradual elevation of the land above the ocean causing a gradual change, through long time, in the temperature of the country until brought finally as it now exists. It was during the changes of this period that the copper miners and mound builders flourished. The effect of the final change in temperature, due to the elevation of the continent, was to drive this race farther and farther southward, until the seat and centre of their power became fixed in the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, and in the region of the Great Lakes. In this southward movement, it is possible that the drones were left behind, and the nomadic people of the far north, and some of the tribes of worthless and shiftless Indians that it is impossible to win to industrious lives, have descended from the outcasts of the people who were the miners of copper and builders of the mounds.

The Mexican records, as interpreted by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, are to the effect that the mound builders were finally driven from the Mississippi valley by prolonged and continuous incursions of fierce, predatory and warlike tribes which came from the west. Leaving their long occupied homes, they became dwellers in Mexico and Central America, and leading participators in the work of the early civilization that was the glory of those countries. The *beginning* of this forced migration, according to Abbé Brasseur, was more than a thousand years before the Christian era. How long prior to this was the first occupation of the Mississippi valley by this ancient people? is a question the writer will not attempt to answer. The writer, however, does believe, that in the height of their power the population of that portion of the United States occupied by those ancients, was equal in numbers to the present population of the same area. As previously stated, the mound builders were intelligent and industri-

ous people. They followed peaceful pursuits, and their works bear evidence of the efficiency of their government. Their staple food was maize. Their works do not exist on the Atlantic coast except far to the south. Their pursuits being agricultural, they occupied the Mississippi and Ohio valleys and the Lake region as the country most suitable for those purposes—thus being the precursors of the present race of men who, led by the same instincts, are occupying the same lands, and for the same purpose, but with an advanced civilization which is capable of making the territory once occupied by the mound builders of the stone age, the grain producing country for the world, and the centre of the governmental power. The mound builders being driven out, their territory was occupied by their assailants. Under the sway of a nomadic and warlike people, the works of the ancient race were left to decay, and their cultivated fields laid to waste. Thus, through centuries, was rest given to the soil, in order to renew fertility and prepare it for the occupation of the present race. After us, is in the future.

Prehistoric Copper Implements

By Rev. Edmund F. Slafter

Gentlemen of the Society:—An examination of your *Reports and Collections*, issued within the last few years, reveals an extraordinary progress in the objects which your organization was designed to promote. This is eminently true of the department of prehistoric remains. Of stone implements you report in 1876, as belonging to the Society, six hundred rollers, pestles, knives, scrapers, awls, pikes, and anomalous forms; three hundred and sixty-five axes of various sizes and descriptions; about fifty pipes and perforated ornaments, and nearly eight thousand spear, lance and arrow-heads, making in all over nine thousand pieces, representing, we may well suppose, most of the occupations, if not all, in which a rude and uncultivated people could have been engaged.

The collection constitutes a volume of history, whose study, unaided by any other sources of information, may reveal to us a very satisfactory general knowledge of the habits and mode of life of the people by whom they were made and used. As they were all found within the limits of your own State, and the places and circumstances of their discovery are for the most part recorded, they constitute a local history of special and peculiar value.

But this array of stone implements, so numerous and in so fine

*This open letter to the Wisconsin Historical Society was printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, for January, 1879. It is here reproduced without alteration of the text. The note numbered 11, has been added by the author.

a state of preservation as we are informed most of them are, is nevertheless, in present interest and importance, over-matched and dwarfed by your collection of prehistoric copper utensils. This department may be said to be new. Anterior to the present decade, and to the time when your Society began to form its collection, there were but a small number of prehistoric copper implements known to have been discovered in this country. These were widely scattered, making an insignificant figure in collections of prehistoric remains, and naturally claiming and receiving very little study or attention from antiquaries or historical students. But the large number of copper implements which you have recently brought together, found within the limits of Wisconsin, amounting, at your last annual report, in 1878, to one hundred and ninety different articles, a few of them bearing the indubitable marks of having been cast in moulds, besides forty ornamented beads, apparently made from thin sheet copper, give to this department a new significance and a fresh interest.

These implements are classified as spear or dirk-heads, knives, chisels, axes, augurs, gads, and drills.¹

The value of this collection to your Society consists in the means it furnishes of illustrating the prehistoric period of Wisconsin. The question therefore which forces itself at once upon the attention is this: Were the makers and users of these copper implements the same people who were in occupation when the country was first discovered by Europeans? Or were they of an earlier race, which had passed away, and their places become occupied by the American Indian? While there are some intimations in your publications that these copper tools must have been made by an earlier and superior race, no elaborate defense of this view has appeared in any paper published by the Society, which has come to my notice. It is undoubtedly wise not to propound or adopt a new theory, until the means of establishing and defending it are ample and undeniable. The old maxim, *festina lente*, may be safely adopted in settling a question like this. In

¹ The bulk of the prehistoric remains belonging to the Society, both of stone and copper, were collected by Frederick S. Perkins, Esq., of Burlington, Wis., and are a noble monument to his persistent energy and zeal in this department. His method is described in *Collections* of Wis. His. Society, Vol. vii., pp. 70-73.

all matters of historical inquiry, we can well afford to "make haste slowly."

It is obvious that the question, as to who were the makers and users of these implements, must be finally settled by two lines of evidence. The one will relate directly to the prehistoric copper utensils themselves, and from them will seek to determine the character, capacity, and progress in civilization of the people who manufactured and used them. The other will relate to the testimony that may be found in the journals of early European explorers or colonists showing that implements of copper were in use or were made by the Indians then found inhabiting the country. The latter class of evidence, of course, is complete today, and to obtain it we have only to examine the documents or journals in question. The former class is in the process of accumulation. The collection of prehistoric coppers is probably now incomplete. Not only a greater number, but a far greater variety, and even new kinds or classes of implements may be brought to light. If utensils shall hereafter be discovered, designed for new, curious and more complicated uses, such as always accompany an advanced stage of civilization, it is plain that such discoveries will throw new light upon this interesting and historically important question, and we may be forced to the conclusion, in such an event, that a race superior to the Indian was once in possession of the country, by whom these copper implements were used, and by whose superior skill and ingenuity they were made.

But if no further discoveries are made, if no new classes of implements are found, then, as the matter now stands, I think the following considerations will have a decisive bearing on the final disposition of the question.

By a careful comparison of the copper and stone implements, it will be seen that they are essentially identical in kind. The same class, which we find in copper, we find also in stone. If there be any exception, it must be in one or two small utensils denominated "borers" or "piercers," which are too delicate to be useful in stone, and were easily supplied by the Indians in bone or very hard and tough wood.² It is a fair and logical inference, I

² Vide "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley" by Squier and Davis, *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, Vol. 1, p. 220.

think, that if a people used the same or essentially the same class of implements, they must have been accustomed to the same mode of life, have had the same wants, the same habits, and the same tastes. In other words, if the implements they used were of the same class, we cannot refer, reasoning from these premises alone, that those who used them were more or less advanced in the arts of civilized life, had any greater or less intellectual capacity, or differed in any essential quality. Now it is admitted universally that the Indians used and manufactured the stone implements. The early explorers found them in use by them on every part of this continent. And they are now at this day exhumed and picked up in every quarter of the country. As the copper implements, which have recently been discovered, are of the same class as the stone, and were evidently designed for the same uses, the natural and logical inference is that they were made and used by the same people, viz., by the American Indians.

But another consideration in the decision of this question, relates to the estimate we may form of the capacity of the Indian to manufacture the prehistoric copper implements. While these implements appear to have been made by a people in the same stage of civilization as the Indian, if it can be made to appear that he had not the intellectual or mechanical capacity to manufacture them, then we must refer their origin to some other source. The capacity of the Indian can be satisfactorily tested by the ingenuity and skill displayed in the manufacture of articles which he is admitted to have made. In the construction of implements of stone, of various forms and adapted to many uses, he exhibited a patient ingenuity and delicate and skillful use of the hand, which are certainly not surpassed in any of the coarser and more common branches of the mechanical arts among civilized men. With his stone axe and chisel, a skillful and ingenious use of fire, which he drew out of two bits of wood by friction, he brought down the massive forest tree, and moulded out of its trunk a boat, serviceable for all his uses in the navigation of rivers or estuaries, and particularly in the transfer of his corn and other heavy burdens from one place to another. His canoe was ingeniously constructed of the bark of the birch, the elm or the

oak. With a full appreciation of the law of resistance that characterizes water, he gave it a shape or figure, arrived at, doubtless, after many experiments, of really fine proportions, and at the same time best adapted of all others to glide smoothly and rapidly over the surface of the water. The seams of the bark were nicely and closely united, cemented over with gums from the forests, which, by observation and experiment, he learned would resist the action of the water. The whole fabric was stiffened and made firm by a frame-work of wood, wisely adjusted to the purpose. We cannot fail to see that, in the construction of this canoe, no little skill and ingenuity were displayed, particularly when we remember that the whole was accomplished without the use of iron, steel, or any other metallic implement, but by tools made by the Indian himself, of hornblende, porphyry, chert or other hard stone, which he picked up on the surface of the earth.

To facilitate the movements of his canoe, the Indian sometimes called in the friendly aid of the winds by hoisting a sail, which he patiently manufactured by sewing together the membranous ribbons, which he had the wit to discover could be obtained from the intestines of wild beasts.³

The stone-arrow and spear-heads were made by a process of cleaving and chipping, requiring a mechanical skill, a precision and accuracy, not easily matched by the stone cutter of the present day, particularly if he were required to perform the same task with the same implements.

The arrow-heads which they used in war were so ingeniously contrived with barbs, and purposely attached so slenderly to their stock, that, when hurled by the bow, they pierced the flesh of an enemy, they could not be withdrawn, but, breaking from the shaft, remained buried in the wound, insuring the desired fatal result.

Observing the resistance of the atmosphere and the consequent irregular movement of his arrow, the Indian skillfully attached a feather at the end of it, imparting to it a steady and sustained movement through the air, thus increasing its effective range, and causing it to respond more perfectly to the exactness of his aim.

³ Sails of this kind were in use by the Esquimaux, commonly esteemed the most inferior class of American Indians. *Vide* Frobisher's *Second Voyage*, Hakluyt, Vol. iii., p. 63.

In pottery the Indian displayed inventive genius and practical skill. He moulded, out of clay and sand, vessels useful to him for many purposes. The material was kneaded and wrought with patient and studious care, and moulded by the hand into forms suggested by convenience and taste. Specimens of his pottery are exhumed, even at this day, so well tempered and baked that they have resisted the action of air and frost for more than two hundred years.⁴

These are only a few among the many instances in which the American Indian has not only displayed a capacity for mechanical execution, but a marked power in the line of invention or contrivance.

If, under the most unfavorable circumstances he could devise a boat, of a figure and material eminently adapted to his purpose, of gliding rapidly and safely over the surface of the lake or the river; if he could invent a sail, made of animal substance, which should prove for his purposes a fair substitute for canvas; if he could shape an arrow-head, which by its construction should be peculiarly adapted to carry death to his enemies; if he could add a feature to the same implement that should extend its range and give effectiveness to its purpose; if he could combine clay and sand, and mould them into vessels of excellent quality and lasting service in his rude mode of life, can it be regarded as at all remarkable that he should discover a method of fashioning the native copper, which he picked up on the surface of the earth or drew out of the crevices of the rocks, into the utensils which he needed for daily use, shaping it with the hammer, or even casting it in moulds of the simplest and lowest forms of the art? The application of heat for melting was entirely within his power. The forest furnished abundant material. The native potter would naturally, and almost in the line of his art, furnish the moulds for the castings. Thus the step seems to be but a short one, and by no means above his ordinary achievements, between what we

⁴ For a description of the mode of manufacturing pottery by the Indians, *vide Histoire du Canada*, par Gabriel Sagard Théodat, Paris, ed. 1876, Vol. I, p. 250. Sagard published his history in 1636, and is indisputable authority, not only as to the method but to the fact of its manufacture in his time. His description may be found in English in *Champlain's Voyages*, Prince Society ed., Vol. II., note 170.

know the Indian did do, and what he must have done, had he been the manufacturer of the copper implements.

It does not, therefore, seem to me to be an act of credulity to believe that the Indian, who occupied the territory of your State when the continent was first visited by Europeans, was capable of manufacturing the copper implements which have been recently found, by shaping them under the hammer, or by casting them in moulds.

But another line of evidence, bearing upon the decision of this question, and to which I have already alluded in the early part of this paper, relates to the testimony that may be found in the journals of early European explorers or colonists, showing that implements of copper were in use, or were made by the Indians then inhabiting the country.

The early English explorers, Sir Martin Frobisher, John Davis, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and others, made their land-falls in high latitudes. They found the Esquimaux clothed in skins of wild beasts, with boats and huts made chiefly of the same material, but they report no copper implements as found among them.

The French explorers were the first to penetrate the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. Jacques Cartier, in 1534, discovered the Bay of Chaleur, Gaspé, and the region about the island of Anticosti, and took home with him to France two natives of the country. The next year, 1535, on his second voyage, he advanced up the river as far as Montreal, passing the winter, however, near Quebec. On his way up the gulf, when somewhere between Anticosti and Tadoussac, his two Indians, who were returning with him to their home, informed him that they were then at the beginning of Saguenay, and from that country came red copper.

Before proceeding further, it is important to obtain as clear an idea as possible of the country which the Indians called Saguenay. The geographical lines of the Indian were exceedingly indefinite. Where there were no natural divisions, as lakes or rivers, the line that separated one country from another was never clearly fixed in his mind, nor was it important that it should be. What he called Saguenay was a vast territory beginning on the St. Lawrence below Tadoussac, embracing that watered by the river bear-

ing the same name and its tributaries, extending northwesterly beyond the sources of the river Ottawa, and including the whole region about Lake Superior.⁵ It was inhabited by the great Algonquin family of Indians, under several different tribal names. Closely related, they maintained a constant intercourse through hunting and trading parties, more or less frequent doubtless, according to the distance of their separation.⁶

I will now give several extracts from Cartier's Journal, or "Brief Recital," with an English translation. I present them in the old French, that the critical reader may have before him the exact language of the original:

Et par les sauuaiges que auions, nous a esté dict que cestoit le commencement du Saguenay & terre habitable. Et que de la venoit le cuyure rouge qu'ilz appellet caignetdaze.—*Brief Recit*, par Jacques Cartier, 1545, D'Avezac's ed., 9 *et verso*.

Translation.—The savages that we had with us told us that here was the beginning of Saguenay, and that the country was inhabitable, and that from thence came the red copper, which they called *caignetdaze*.

When Cartier was at Montreal, the Indians took him to the top of the well-known mountain in the rear of the present site of that city, and described, as well as they could, the surrounding country, and pointed out the river Ottawa coming from among the hills on the north, referred to in the following extract:

Nous estimions que c'est la riuiere qui passe par le royaulme du Saguenay, & sans que leur feissions aucune demande & signes, prindrent la chaine du sifflet du cappitaine qui estoit d'argent, & vng manche de poignard, lequel estoit de laton iaulne comme or: lequel pendoit au costé de l'ung de noz compaignons marinyers,

⁵ The location of Saguenay, as here given, is often referred to by Cartier. John Gilmary Shea, LL. D., who is excellent authority on this subject, says: "The Saguenay of the St. Lawrence Indians was evidently the Lake Superior region, and possibly the parts accessible by the Mississippi. The River Saguenay was not so called from being in, but from leading to, Saguenay." *Vide* Shea's *Charlevoix*, foot note, Vol. i., p. 125.

⁶ By reference to Gallatin's map in his "Synopsis", *Transactions* Am. Antiquarian Society, Vol. ii., it will be seen that the Algonquins occupied the whole territory about Lake Superior. The close relation of the different tribes into which they were divided is clearly shown by Mr. Gallatin, who is good authority as to the geographical distribution of the Indians.

& montrèrent que cela venoit d'amond ledict fleuve, &c. &c.—*Brief Recit.*, p. 27, *verso*.

Translation.—We thought it was the river that flows through the kingdom of Saguenay, and without any sign or demand made upon them, they took the chain of the captain's whistle which was of silver,⁷ and the handle of the poniard, yellow like gold, which hung at the side of one of our mariners, and showed us that such came from up said river.

Again, at the same interview, we have the following statement:

Nostre cappitaine leur monstra du cuyure rouge, qu'ilz appellerent *caignetdaze*, leur monstrant vers ledict lieu, demandant par signe s'il venoit de là & ilz commencerent à secourre la teste disant que non. Et monstrèrent qu'il venoit du Saguenay, qui est au contraire du presedent.—*Brief Recit.*, p. 27, *verso*.

Translation.—Our captain showed them red copper, which they call *caignetdaze*, pointing out to them a particular place, asking by signs if it came from there, and they began to shake the head, saying that it did not. And showed that it came from Saguenay, which is in a direction contrary to the former.

After Cartier had returned from Montreal, called Hochelaga by the Indians, to Quebec, he obtained from those dwelling there the following additional information. After stating that the direct and convenient route to Saguenay is by the river Ottawa, he proceeds as follows:

Nous ont faiet entendre que les gens sont vestuz & habillez comme nous, & de draps, & qu'il y a force villes & peuples, & bonnes gens & qu'il ont grand quantité d'or & cuyure rouge, &c., &c.—*Brief Recit.*, p. 34.

Translation.—We were made to understand that there are people there clothed and habited in cloth like ourselves, and that

⁷ "Among the numerous masses of copper which have been picked up on the shores of the lake, some have contained a considerable quantity of silver interpersed through them." *Vide Geology and Topography of Lake Superior*, by J. W. Foster and J. D. Whitney, Washington, 1850, p. 13.

"Native silver occurs by no means unfrequently, at various points of the Trap range, from one extremity of the district to the other. It has, however, been found in the greatest quantity at the Phoenix, Cliff, Copper Falls, and Minnesota mines; the largest specimen hitherto obtained was taken from the workings of the Phoenix (formerly Lake Superior) Company's mine. It was a rolled, detached lump, perfectly pure, which weighed over six pounds, and is now in the collection of the mint at Philadelphia."—*Idem*, p. 178.

there are there many populous villages and good people, and that they have a great quantity of gold^s and red copper.

Having passed the winter near Quebec, on the 6th of May, 1536, Cartier set sail for home, having captured Donnacona, the chief of tribe at Quebec, and nine others, whom he took with him to France. When they were at the Isle aux Condres, about fifty miles below Quebec, a party of the subjects of Donnacona, just from the river of the Saguenay, came on board to bid their chief adieu, and present him with valuable parting presents. The following are Cartier's words:

Donerent audiet Donnacona trois pacquetz de peaulx de byeures & louns marins avec vng grad cousteau de cuyure rouge, qui vient du Saguenay & autres choses.—*Brief Recit.*, p. 44, *verso*.

Translation.—They gave to the above mentioned Donnacona three packages of beaver and seal skins, together with a large knife of red copper which came from Saguenay, and other things.

I find no further important testimony in the reports of Cartier, or in that of Jean Alfonse, relating to the voyage made by the latter under Roberval, in 1542. From this time onward, for the next seventy years, the Basques and Normans visited the waters of the St. Lawrence, but they were only private adventurers and desultory fur-traders and fishermen, and left no record of discoveries and observations.

In 1608 Champlain laid the foundations of Quebec. In the month of June, 1610, he left Quebec by appointment to join a war party of Algonquins,^o Hurons, and Montagnais, at Three Rivers, who were preparing to attack their enemies, the Iroquois. When he had gone not more than twenty-five miles, he met a canoe containing two Indians, an Algonquin and a Montagnais, who had been despatched to urge him to hasten forward with as much speed as possible. He entertained them on his barque, when the fol-

^s It must have been difficult for the Indians to distinguish between gold and copper; it would seem probable that their distinction was founded on some fancied or real difference in the color of the specimens which they had seen.

^o We may here remark that while the name *Algonquin* is applied to all the tribes on the north bank of the St. Lawrence and of the lakes, to represent them as belonging to the same stock, there was a particular tribe to which this name was given, whose home was not very well defined, but appeared to be about the sources of the Ottawa, and their hunting grounds probably extended to Lake Superior.

lowing occurrence took place, which I give in Champlain's words:

Peu de temps après auoir deuisé avec eux de plusieurs choses touchant leurs guerres, le sauuage Algonmequin, qui estoit vn de leurs chefs, tira d'un fac vne piece de cuiure de la longueur d'un pied, qu'il me donna, lequel estoit fort beau & bien franc, me donnant à entendre qu'il y en auoit en quantité là où il l'auoit pris, qui estoit sur le bort d'une riuiere proche d'un grad lac, & qu'il le prenoiet par morceaux, & le faisant fondre le mettoient en lames, & avec des pierres le rendoient vny. Je fus fort ayse de ce present, encores qu'il fut de peu de valeur.—*Vide Les Voyages du Sievr de Champlain*, Paris, 1613, pp. 246, 247.

Translation.—Shortly after conferring with them about many matters concerning their wars, the Algonquin savage, one of their chiefs, drew from a sack a piece of copper, a foot long, which he gave me. This was very handsome and quite pure. He gave me to understand that there were large quantities where he had taken this, which was on the bank of a river, near a great lake. He said that they gathered it in lumps, and, having melted it, spread it in sheets, smoothing it with stones. I was very glad of this present, though of small value. *Champlain's Voyages*, Otis's trans., Prince Society ed., Boston, 1878, Vol. ii, p. 236.

The extracts, which I have thus presented from the journals of these early explorers, render it certain that the territory called by the Indians Saguenay was a copper-bearing region, and that copper was found there in great abundance. The Indians, both at Montreal and Quebec, in 1535, as we have seen, were familiar with the fact, and their testimony to this point is spontaneous, clear, direct and full. This historical evidence is confirmed by discoveries, within the last forty years, of vast quantities of native copper near the shores of Lake Superior, the only place in the United States where it is found to any considerable extent.

It should be observed that both Cartier and Champlain were, when they had the interviews referred to in the above extracts, at a great distance from the centre of the copper-bearing territory, probably not less than eight hundred or a thousand miles, as traversed by the Indians. They saw, nevertheless, at this remote

distance, where copper could hardly be expected to find its way except at rare intervals, at least two examples, and we know not how many others of which they make no record, in which copper was wrought into forms in which it has recently been found, and of which you have specimens in the archives of your Society.¹⁰

But in addition to this, the Algonquin chief, in 1610, fresh from the region where the copper was found, testified to the mode of its manufacture. They gathered it, he informed Champlain, in lumps or small pieces; melted it; spread it into sheets and polished it off under the stone hammer. This is a general statement, and shows that the two processes of melting and malleation were familiar to the Indian in the manufacture of copper. But some of your implements were plainly cast in moulds.¹¹ The Algonquin chief does not testify as to this mode of manufacture. He

¹⁰ The Historical Society of Wisconsin *Collections* report in 1878, "forty copper beads, one-half inch in length, apparently made from *thin rolled copper*." In the description of facsimiles of copper implements, *Colls.*, Vol. vii., p. 101, "Fig. 7 shows a handle rolled out of the *same plate* of copper with its blade." The knives and arrow-heads, whose sockets were made by turning up the edges, were apparently cut from copper sheets or plates. *Vide* Lap- ham's *Antiquities of Wisconsin*, p. 76. Also, Foster's *Pre-Historic Races of the United States*, p. 254, et passim.

¹¹ The history of the prehistoric copper implements, anterior to their recent discovery, is unrecorded, and only inferentially known. All evidence as to the mode of their manufacture is derived from their superficial appearance. That they *appear* to have been cast in moulds, is the testimony of most writers on this subject, so far as we know, who have examined them. The weight of *evidence*, therefore, as to the mode of their manufacture, goes to show that they were cast in moulds.

If the theory that they were cast in moulds be denied, it will be reasonable to demand that some other method of manufacture be suggested that shall not be encumbered with obstacles and difficulties to be overcome even more insuperable than those supposed to be connected with the process of casting them in moulds. To present an implement of a similar appearance not cast, but "swedged" by means of an iron matrix, would hardly be admissible as disproving the theory, unless it could be shown that the Indians used the iron matrix for the same purpose. Nor would a matrix cut in a granite boulder by the stone-cutter's chisel of steel be admissible, unless it could be proved that the Indian had the same kind of tools which he could use for the same purpose. When implements similar to those alleged to be prehistoric castings shall be otherwise made by means which the Indian had at his command, it will go far to prove that these implements having the appearance of castings, may have been fabricated without the use of moulds.

A series of experiments might well be instituted to illustrate the Indian method of constructing copper implements. The conditions should coincide strictly with such as were possible to the Indians. Copper melts at about 2000°, more or less. Wood produces a heat of 3000°, more or less. With such a blast as the Indian could easily avail himself of, it would be possible to test the practicability of melting copper by a heat produced by wood, and likewise by casting it in such moulds as he could construct from sand, loam and clay.

Nothing is more remarkable in the history of man, than the ingenuity and practical skill which, in his rudest state, he summons to his aid whenever his necessities demand them.

had indeed no occasion to do so. This is the only point, in accounting for the origin of the prehistoric copper implements, it will be observed, which is not fully covered by the evidence derived from the early explorers in the citations which I have made. But, if the Indian potter could shape clay into jugs, kettles, bowls and vases, we can hardly doubt that he possessed, likewise, the mechanical ingenuity and skill to devise and construct moulds for casting implements, at least in the very simple forms in which specimens have thus far been found. If this be admitted, we are led to the conclusion, as the evidence now stands, that the origin of the copper implements must be referred to the American Indians.

As a corresponding member of your Society, of many years standing, I am sure I need offer no apology for bringing to your notice and to that of others interested in the subject, the considerations contained in this paper, which I have done with the hope that they may be useful in solving a question of great interest to all students of American history.

Boston, January, 1879.

Fabrication of Ancient Copper Implements

By Lyman C. Draper

The paper in Vol. VII of our Society's *Collections*, by Prof. Butler, on "Prehistoric Wisconsin," describing the collection of ancient copper implements in the cabinet of our Society—the principal portion of which, was on exhibition at the Centennial celebration at Philadelphia in 1876—has elicited not a little discussion among our archæologists as to the mode of their fabrication. Dr. Butler contended that *some* of them, at least, gave evidence of having been cast in moulds. This view has been stoutly contested by others. All the light we can get on this interesting subject, *pro* and *con*, is desirable.

Prof. Thomas Egleston read, in March, 1879, a paper on "Prehistoric Copper Mining at Lake Superior," before the Academy of Sciences of New York. And in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society at its semi-annual meeting, April 30, 1879, was read a valuable paper on "Mexican Copper Tools," by Philipp I. I. Valentini, Ph. D., translated from the German by Stephen Salisbury, Jr.

These papers throw much light upon this discussion. Both of these distant people, the primitive Mexicans and the Indians of Lake Superior, were unacquainted with iron—the Mexican natives having been ignorant of it until the arrival of the Spaniards in their country; both were trained in the arts and practice of war, yet neither had shaped their copper into warlike implements, the metal being appropriated solely to the uses of peace—in Mexico, apparently, because of its comparative scarcity. "Whilst the Northern red man," says Valentini, "attained to his highest achievement in the production of the axe, the native of Central America could boast of important additions to his stock of tools. He possessed copper implements for tilling the fields, and knew the uses of the chisel. Besides, when he wished to

impart to the copper a definite form, he showed a superior ingenuity. The northern Indian simply took a stone, and by physical force hammered the metal into the required shape. But the skilled workman of Tecoa-tega and Tezeuco, subjecting the native copper to the heat of the furnace cast the wood-cutter's axe in a mould, as well as the bracelets and the fragile ear-rings that adorned the princesses of Montezuma."

The fact of smelting metal is proven by the picture tables, called the *Codices Mexicana*, containing representations of their early historical, religious, social and commercial life. Reproductions of these ancient pictures may be seen in Lord Kingsborough's great work on *Mexican Antiquities*—one of which shows a native in a sitting posture, blowing apparently a pipe or flute to increase the heat of the fire on the tripod before him, on which appears a crucible containing metal.

And melting was followed by casting into forms or moulds, as is plainly indicated by Torquemada, in his *Monarquia Indiana*, 1613, in which he says: "The goldsmiths did not possess the tools necessary for hammering metals, but *with one stone placed above another one*, they made a flat cup or a plate"—so the moulds were made of stone. Gomara, another early writer who was secretary to Cortez, in his *Historia General de las Indias*, 1552-55, observes of the native Mexican goldsmiths, "they will cast a platter in a mould."

We learn from Bernal Diaz, in his *History of the Conquest of New Spain*, 1632, that Cortez had seen for sale in Mexico, "trinkets made of gold and silver, of lead, bronze, copper and tin;" and Diaz, his companion, adds: "I saw axes of bronze, and copper, and tin." So the great Spanish conqueror took joy and courage when he now discovered not only a ready means of replacing the arms he had lost, but also a source from which to equip his faithful Indian allies; and Cortez immediately ordered the native goldsmiths of Tezeuco to cast eight thousand arrow-heads of copper, and these weapons were made ready for delivery within a single week.

It is quite apparent that the Mexican natives were no rude workers in casting metals; and it is not far-fetched to infer that

the more northern Indians, in their intercourse with their southern neighbors, may have learned the art from them. They had overcome whatever difficulty there may have been in procuring crucibles, as the skillfulness of their productions sufficiently attest. The historian, Gomara, states: "They will cast a platter in a mould with eight corners, and every corner of several metals—that is to say, the one of gold, the other of silver, without any solder. They will also cast a little caldron with loose handles hanging thereto, as we used to cast a bell. They will also cast in a mould a fish with one scale of silver on its back, and another of gold; they will make a parrot of metal so that his tongue shall shake, and his head move, and his wings flutter; they will cast an ape in a mould so that both hands and feet will stir, and holding a spindle in his hand, seeming to spin—yea, and an apple in his hand, as if he would eat it. Our Spaniards were not a little amazed at the sight of these things, *for our goldsmiths are not to be compared to theirs.*"

Thus we see that the Mexican natives cast copper implements three hundred and fifty years ago. Some of the specimens found in Wisconsin show flecks of silver, proving conclusively that they were laminated; for had they been cast, the silver would have become amalgamated with the copper, forming an alloy. But why not others, exhibiting the rude ridges, or raised marks, and quite uniformly lengthwise of the implement, as if formed by the imperfect joining of the moulds, have been fabricated, as by the Indians of Mexico, by melting the metal and pouring it into forms or moulds? Is it any more improbable that our ancient copper manufacturers of Wisconsin and Lake Superior should have had the knowledge of moulding, than that the Mexican tribes should have practiced such an art?

This question of the mode of fabrication of the ancient copper implements, touched incidentally in the preceding papers of Mr. Houghton and Mr. Slafter, is further discussed by Mr. Perkins, Col. Whittlesey, and Dr. Hoy.

By Fred S. Perkins

In January, 1873, I expressed to Dr. John W. Foster, of Chicago, my belief that many of these ancient copper implements were cast in moulds, and when I showed some specimens, he became convinced, and re-wrote the portion of his manuscript that related to the manner in which these objects had been made.¹

In February, 1876, I showed similar specimens to Sir Wm. R. Wilde,² in Dublin, Ireland. He examined them attentively, and said they had certainly been cast, "probably in clay moulds."

M. Gabriel de Mortillet, and other French archæologists, were of the same opinion. I intended to show them to members of the Anthropological Society, in London, but it so happened that I could not stop there on my way home.

Since my return to Wisconsin, I have obtained many ancient copper objects, which show to my mind very good evidences of casting, and also some that do not bear any such evidence; but, on the contrary, by their laminar structure, show quite clearly that they were made in a different way, probably by hammering.

BURLINGTON, WIS., June 2, 1879.

By Col. Charles Whittlesey

In reply to your inquiry of the 31st ult., I can only say, in brief, that I have never seen a veritable ancient copper imple-

¹ In *Pre-Historic Races*, by J. W. Foster, LL. D., p. 259, the learned author remarks: "Mr. Perkins, to whose archæological collections, I have had occasion so often to refer, * * * had arrived at the same conclusion as myself, that, by reason of certain markings, it was evident that the mound builders possessed the art of smelting copper, and he has furnished me with the foregoing illustrations, in which the traces of the mould are clearly defined. It is impossible to infer, after a careful examination of these specimens, that the ridges could have been left in the process of hammering, or that they have resulted from unequal oxidation."—L. C. D.

² Sir Wm. R. Wilde, a learned antiquary, vice-president of the Royal Irish Academy, and author of a descriptive catalogue of the antiquities of that institution, embracing articles of stone, earthen, copper and bronze. In describing the copper celts found in Ireland, Mr. Wilde does not, in his work, express any opinion as to their mode of manufacture, but adds: "Upon the steppes of Tartary, and in some of the wildest parts of Russia, the remains of very ancient copper furnaces, of small size, and of the most rude construction, have been discovered."

The fact that bronze implements are found in Ireland, as they were by Cortes and his followers in Mexico, is evidence that the natives knew how to form the amalgam of copper and tin, and this would very naturally lead to the use of moulds.—L. C. D.

ment that was cast in a mould, or where the metal was ever melted. The great bodkin, mentioned by Mr. Foster, from the collection of Mr. Perkins, now I think in your Society collection, I examined at Philadelphia in 1876. The tortuous ridges which were regarded as due to creases in the moulds, are merely the result of irregular oxidation.

A gentleman from Syracuse, whose name I have not in mind, said to me that he had immersed an ancient cold wrought copper implement in weak acids, and the corroded portions were very like those on the bodkin. Cold wrought copper cannot be mistaken for ingot or melted copper. In pounding the native nuggets into shape, they become laminated, and the hardness is irregular. I should expect the oxidation to be irregular also.

It is very strange that the mound builders did not melt copper; but I have seen no evidence that they did. There is a popular belief that they knew how to temper it and make it harder than ingot copper. No people of any age are known to have hardened copper in that way. All the hard copper is an alloy with tin. The Lake Superior copper, in its matrix, is as hard as the ancient implements, and both are harder than the copper of commerce.

COLUMBUS, O., June 4, 1879.

By P. R. Hoy, M. D.

I propose, briefly to consider the manner in which the ancient inhabitants of this country fabricated those curious copper implements, which the plow and spade turn up all over Wisconsin and the adjacent States. A few of the specimens, upon a superficial inspection, seem to be cast. Did these rude people possess the skill and intelligence requisite to cast articles of pure copper? Before a cast be made, it is necessary to have an exact copy moulded either in sand, plaster, clay, metal, or other suitable substances. The formation of sand moulds is by no means so simple a matter as it seems at first thought. It requires long practical experience to overcome the disadvantages attendant upon the materials used. The moulds must be sufficiently strong to withstand

the pressure of the fluid metal perfectly, and at the same time to permit the escape of the gases formed by the action of the metal on the damp sand. If the material be air-tight, then danger would be from pressure, arising from the rapid generation of the gases, and the casting would thus be spoiled. In moulding, an accurate pattern must first be made, generally in two or more parts. Pattern-making involves much knowledge and skill.

Copper is a refractory metal, which melts at from 2200 to 2600 degree Fahrenheit—a temperature that can be reached only in a furnace, assisted by some form of coal, and an artificial blast. We must have good evidence before we assert that these dwellers by the lakes possessed these indispensable auxiliaries to successful working in metals. Copper, when melted, is thick and pasty, and without the addition of some other metal, will not run into the cavities and sinuosities of the mould. Even now there is no article smaller than a three pound hammer cast in pure copper. In casting in copper, it is positively necessary to put the materials in a crucible, and that the surface of the melting mass be covered with a flux in order to protect the melting metal from the oxidizing action of the atmosphere. The manufacturing of good crucibles, such as will withstand the heat necessary to melt the more refractory metals, involves such a degree of knowledge, that for many generations the entire civilized world was dependent on a small section of Germany; and even now Hessian crucibles are unsurpassed. It will sufficiently indicate difficulties and scarcity of the materials used, when it is known that America today is dependent upon Europe for the immense number of crucibles used in this country.

A large majority of these copper implements have specks of points of pure silver scattered over their surfaces. Now I am prepared to prove that one single particle of pure silver, visible even with the aid of a microscope is evidence *positive* that the specimen was never melted. A fibrous texture is another evidence that these implements were hammered or rolled out. This fibrous quality is well exhibited by the stria of hard bands found in all specimens. We certainly would expect to find some evidence of a *spruc*—the point where the metal is poured into the

mould, more especially if they were so carelessly finished as to leave the imprint of the mould visible, as erroneously supposed by some. Surely if these slight elevations and ridges are the imprint of the moulds, then such specimens are of recent casting, for it is evident that these delicate marks would be the first to be corroded by the tooth of time.

I make here a short extract from a paper entitled "The Ancient Men of the Great Lakes," read by Henry Gillman at the Detroit meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Mr. Gillman is a close observer, and an accomplished archæologist, and has made the ancient mines of Lake Superior a specialty. He says: "I cannot close, however, without expressing my wondering admiration of a relic, which, taken in connection with our former discoveries, affords some of the most important evidences of the character of the ancient miners, the nature of their work, and the richness of the mineral field selected for their labors at Isle Royal. On cleaning out of the pit the accumulating debris, this mass was found at the bottom, at the depth of sixteen and one-half feet. It is of a crescent shape, and weighs nearly three tons, or exactly 5,720 pounds. Such a huge mass was evidently beyond the ability of those ancient men to remove. They could only deal with it as best they knew how. And as to their mode of procedure, the surroundings in the pit, and the corrugated surface of the mass itself, bear ample testimony—the large quantities of ashes and coals lying around it; a great number of the stone hammers or mauls, were also found near by, many of them fractured by use. With these the surface of the mass had evidently been beaten up into projecting ridges, and broken off. The entire upper face and sides of the relic presented repeated instances of this; the depressions several inches deep, and the intervening elevations with their fractured summits covering every part of the exposed superficies. How much of the original mass was removed in the manner described, it is impossible to say. But from appearances, in all probability it must have been at least one-third larger. Innumerable fragments of *copper chips lay strewn on all sides*, and even the scales of fish, evidently the remains of the meals of the miners, were recovered from the

pit." Mr. Gillman was asked if there were in or about any of these ancient mines, any indications of the copper having been melted? His reply was, "not the least." And now, were not these innumerable copper chips that were strewn on every side additional evidence that these ancient men knew nothing about casting in copper? Those fragments would have been the most suitable to melt, as in all metals the smaller the fragments the more easily they melt. It is evident that those chips, being too small to make any form of their implements, were abandoned as useless.

Finally, how were they made if not cast? I believe that I have the key, and can fabricate any form of these, so called, ancient implements, so exactly as to deceive good judges. These ancient Indians, for I believe they were Indians, (and I think I have accumulated facts enough to prove them Indians,) used fire in their mining operations. The vein-rock was made hot by building a fire on or against it; then by dashing on water, the rock could not only be fractured, but the exposed pieces of copper be softened, so that it could be beaten into shape. When the metal became condensed and hard, in consequence of its being pounded, it was again heated and plunged into cold water; for copper is, in this particular respect, the opposite of steel; the one is softened, while the other is rendered hard. In this way copper was fashioned simply by pounding. In addition to the hammering process, cylindrical articles were evidently rolled between two flat rocks, which is the manner in which several of the articles in the collection in the State Historical Society might have been made. Some of those implements that have been supposed to be cast were swedged; that is, a matrix was excavated in stone, into which the rudely fashioned copper was placed, and then by repeated blows the article was made to assume the exact shape of the mould. Many of those plano-convex articles were undoubtedly made in this manner. Of twenty axes taken from mounds near Davenport, nearly three-fourths were of this pattern. I will quote a few lines from R. H. Farquharson on *Recent Explorations of Mounds near Davenport* (Iowa).

"The Davenport collection of copper implements consists at

present of twenty axes, six of which were more or less covered with cloth, four copper awls or borers, over one hundred beads, and a curiously spoon-shaped implement. The axes are all of two forms; one plano-convex, the other with flat sides. They are all cold wrought by hammering; some retaining the original scales or laminae on the surface; none of them show signs of use."

All of these interesting implements are figured in the *Proceedings* of the American Association, Detroit meeting, page 304. We can learn more from this Davenport collection than from any other, for the reason of the perfect condition of the specimens, having never been used, and, in some degree, protected by their covering. Besides, his half-swedging process, I am persuaded that, in a few instances at least, there was a complete mould worked out in halves on the face of two flat stones, so that by placing a suitable piece of copper between them, and giving repeated heavy blows, the copper was made to fill the mould accurately. I was so fortunate as to discover a matrix on the face of a large granite boulder. I made a pattern of this, and the beautiful axe, deposited in the collection of your Historical Society, were made by me of float copper, cold swedged, first having been partly fashioned with a *stone axe*. I have cylindrical implements tapering regularly from the center to the points, as well as the beautiful hatchet referred to, made to illustrate in evidence of my position.

RACINE, November 12, 1879.

The Pictured Cave of La Crosse Valley¹

By Rev. Edward Brown

The subject of Indian pictography is an interesting one, and has been more or less treated by Schoolcraft and other American archæologists. These pictorial or symbolical representations constitute one of the earliest observed traits in the customs and arts of the American aborigines. The best specimens have been found among the Toltecs and Aztecs of Mexico. Picture writing, Schoolcraft informs us, is very limited among the Sioux; the most they use is by warriors denoting feats of bravery, representing wounds, prisoners, and killed—this is about all the picture writing they have. The rude representations here given, found in the La Crosse Valley pictured cave, and doubtless made by the Sioux, serve to corroborate Mr. Schoolcraft's statement.

Of the general subject of Indian pictography, Mr. Schoolcraft very aptly remarks: "The topic is certainly illustrative of the Indian mind. By picking up and preserving to future time his wild pictographic jottings and notations, the inquirer is put in possession of the means of judging of the wild, dark, and incoherent images that pass through the Indian mind. It could hardly otherwise be judged how vague, and utterly distracted in its mental and moral garniture, is the grade of his thoughts, theories and opinions."

L. C. D.

This curious cavern is situated on the farm of David Samuel, in the town of Barre, four miles from West Salem, and eight miles from La Crosse, on the north-west quarter of section twenty, of township sixteen, range six. It was discovered in October, 1878, by Frank Samuel, a son of the owner of the land, eighteen years of age, who had set a trap for raccoons at a hole of considerable size in the hill. Finding that he could, with a little difficulty, crawl into the aperture, which had been dug by wild animals through a land-slide, at the foot of a cliff of Potsdam sandstone, he entered, and finding that it opened into a spacious cavern, he procured lights, and with two older brothers and a

¹ Near West Salem, Wisconsin.

friend, explored it. They found the walls extensively covered with pictures and hieroglyphic characters, and charcoal paintings. It thus became known to a few neighbors, and a few boys, who in the winter resorted to it and built fires and carved their names and their own pictures.

About the first of June, 1879, I heard of such a cave with such pictures and characters, and immediately visited it. I quickly saw that there was something of much value to the cause of archæological science; that the rude pictures were evidently quite old; that the now close chamber had been an open cavern in the cliff, which had been closed, not less than one hundred and fifty years, by a land-slide from the hill above. A poplar tree, two feet in diameter, having one hundred and twenty growths of circles, stood as a dead tree twenty-five years ago, when Mr. Samuel first came there, and had rotted and fallen; and a birch tree stood upon the edge of the cliff where the land-slide had passed over, of from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty annular growths. I visited Mr. Samuel and informed him of the value to science of the inscriptions and possible discoveries to be made by digging. He immediately took measures to stop the vandalism that was fast destroying them; to enlarge the opening, and clear out the sand that had washed in from the land-slide, and half filled the cave. In the meantime I took *facsimiles* of the pictures and characters by pressing tissue paper into the grooves, and with black crayons followed each line to its termination, preserving also its original width. In this way I got perfect outlines; and by placing other sheets over them, in the light of a window pane, took small copies that showed the pictures in their original form and size. I sent one set to Prof. Chamberlin, state geologist, not intending to make anything public till an examination had been made by an archæological expert, and their value to science ascertained. In the meantime, it having become noised about that I was examining such a cave, I was called upon by the local editor of the *Chronicle*, of La Crosse, to whom I gave copies of some of the most prominent of the pictures, from which hasty and imperfect wood-cuts were prepared, which appeared in the *Chronicle*. The article was seen by Mr. Lyman C. Draper, secretary

of the State Historical Society, who wrote to me for information in regard to it. I sent him copies of the pictures, so far as I had taken them, and designated a time—June 27th—to dig into the bottom of the cave, requesting him to come, or send a competent archæologist. He communicated with Dr. J. A. Rice, of Merton, Waukesha County, who came at the time appointed, with Mr. Rockwell Sayer, of Chicago. A company of seventeen men repaired to the place, with shovels, wheel-barrows, and other necessary things for exploration. Several intelligent ladies also attended, and prepared a dinner.

Commencing at the back end of the cave, the sand was carefully dug up and wheeled out, every load carefully inspected, and the work continued till the whole had been examined. We came upon four layers of ashes, each from four to six inches deep, and containing charcoal, and burned and nearly vitrified sand rock. They were separated from each other throughout the whole length and breadth of the cave by layers of clean, white sand, of from ten to fourteen inches in depth. Below the whole was water, of the same level as a marsh that lies in front of the cliff. The lower stratum of sand and ashes contained nothing. In the second were fragments of pottery made of clay and ground shells. These were smooth, and of the oldest kind found in mounds. In the third, more elaborately wrought pottery, the newest found in mounds; with numerous fragments and whole sides of Mississippi River bivalve shells, and a bodkin of bone, seven inches long. This, according to the opinion of old hunters, was of the “hock-bone” of an elk. It was in dry, white sand, and is quite sharp and smooth with use, and in a perfect state of preservation, even retaining the glassy polish of wear and handling, as if used but yesterday.

All the layers had become compact and well stratified, and all contained bits of charcoal, and charred and rotten wood. In the upper layer we found two bones of birds, and two of small animals, and a “clue-claw” of a deer, and a cartilaginous maxillary inferior of a reptile. The four completely diffused strata of ashes, separated by a foot average of clear sand, showed that there had been four distinct periods of occupancy, separated by considerable

intervals of time. This was also indicated by two orders of pottery, one always below the other; but nothing to measure the time. The only conclusion we could arrive at was, that the first occupation was very ancient, and the last before the land-slide, or not less than one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty years ago. The zone of the pictures agreed best, for convenience of engraving, with the third occupancy, the age of the figured pottery.

Before the land-slide, it was an open shelter cavern, fifteen feet wide at the opening, and seven feet at the back end. Greatest width, sixteen feet—average, thirteen; length, thirty feet; height, thirteen feet; and depth of excavation, after clearing out the sand of the land-slide, five feet. The pictures are mostly of the rudest kind, but differing in degree of skill. Except several bisons, a lynx, rabbit, otter, badger, elk and heron it is perhaps impossible to determine with certainty what were intended, or whether they represented large or small animals, no regard being had to their relative sizes. A bison, lynx, and rabbit are pictured in one group, all of the same size. One picture perhaps suggests a mastodon; another, the largest, a hippopotamus; but whether they were really intended to represent those animals is quite uncertain. Others seem to refer to animals yet in existence. Many pictures are fragmentary by the erosion of the soft sand rock on which they are engraved. In one place is a crevice eight feet long, two feet high, and extending inward two and a half feet, with fragments of pictures above and below.

The appearance and connection of the pictures and characters indicate that they were historical, rather than engraved for mere amusement, and suggest that thorough exploration of caves may yet shed much light on the history of the prehistoric aborigines of our country.

While these representations are exceedingly rude, it is deemed best to preserve tracings of them to subserve the investigations of archæologists. They were made by placing thin paper over the engravings or paintings, pressing it down, and tracing the lines with crayons. The more important of them are herewith subjoined, having been engraved by Messrs. Marr & Richards, of Milwaukee, in reduced size, with care and accuracy:



FIG. 1.

No. 1, perhaps, suggests a mastodon, and has the oldest appearance of any in the cave. The size of the original is sixteen inches long, by ten and a half inches from the top of the head to the bottom of the

feet.

No. 2, perhaps, indicates a bison, or buffalo, and is the best executed picture of the whole collection. Its size, nineteen inches long, by fifteen and a half inches from tip of the horns to the feet.

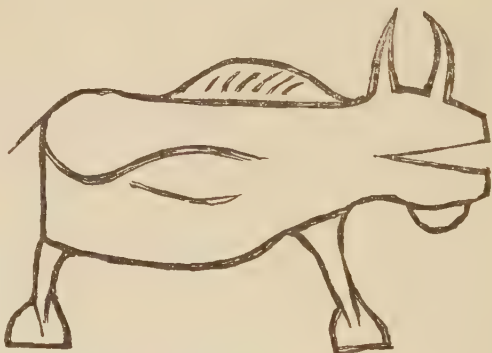


FIG. 2.

No. 3, perhaps a hippopotamus—or, perhaps, a bear; the rear portion crumbled off, and the largest

representation in the cave. It is twenty-eight inches long, and thirteen inches from the hump to the feet.



FIG. 3.

No. 4, an elk with its hunter, whole length eighteen inches; the animal is ten inches long by fourteen from tip of front prong of horns to the feet; the Indian, partly defaced, eleven and a half



FIG. 4.

inches high, by four inches from end of arms to the opposite side of the body. The weapon is nine by five inches.

No. 5, represents a hunter, with a boy behind him, in the act of shooting an animal, with his bow and arrow weapon.

The whole representation is twenty-five inches long; the animal from tip of tail to end of horn or proboscis, twelve inches, and

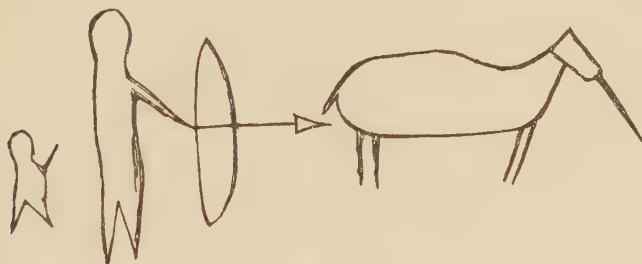


FIG. 5.

from top of head to feet, seven inches; the hunter eleven inches high; the boy four and a half.

No. 6, is a group of five figures, representing perhaps a bison,



FIG. 6.

a lynx, a rabbit, an otter, and a rudely formed man—or possibly a bear in an erect attitude. The group, for the convenience of

engraver, is not arranged as in the cave—the figures in the original were in single file, covering a space of three and a half feet in length. The bison, the upper left hand figure, is twelve inches long, eight inches from top of the horns to the fore feet, and nearly ten inches from tip of the tail to the hind feet. The lynx, the lower left hand figure, is ten and a half inches from the tip of the nose to the tip of the tail, five and a quarter inches from the tips of the ears to the fore feet, and eight inches from the tip of the tail to the hind feet. The otter, the upper right hand figure, is eight and a half inches from the tip of the nose to the end of the body, while the tail is seven and a half inches long; from the top of the rump to the hind feet, five inches; and four inches from the top of the shoulders to the fore feet. The rabbit, the lower right hand figure, is ten and a half inches from the nose to the end of the tail, five and a half inches from the top of the neck to the fore feet, and five and a quarter inches from the top of the rump to the rear hind foot. The upright figure, in the center, is seven and a half inches tall, and three inches from the end of the arm to the back of the body.

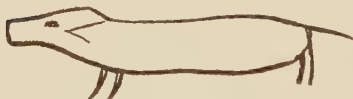


FIG. 7.

No. 7, represents, perhaps, a badger; thirteen and a half inches long, four inches and three-quarters from the top of the head to the fore feet, and three and a half inches from the rump to the hind feet.

No. 8, an Indian painted on the wall, and the rude drawing of an animal cut in the rock—occupying the relative positions represented in the engraving. The animal is sixteen and a half inches from the lower extremity of the head to the tip of the tail, and seven

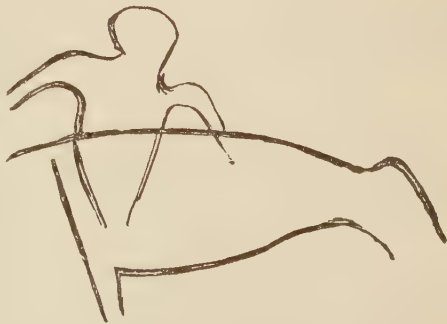


FIG. 8.

and a quarter inches from the rump to the rear hind foot; while the Indian figure is ten inches in height, and nine and a half inches from the end of one arm to that of the other.

No. 9, represents a wounded animal, with the arrow or weapon near the wound. This figure is twenty-one and three-quarter



FIG. 9.

inches from the lower extremity of the nose to the tip of the tail; eight and three-quarter inches from fore shoulders to front feet, and eight

inches from the rump to the hind feet. The weapon is four and a half inches long, by five inches broad from the tip of one prong or barb to that of the other.

It may be remarked, that the two prongs or barbs of the weapon or arrow, in this figure, are doubtless altogether too long and disproportioned. We are justified in this supposition, from the general fact of there being no recognition of the relative sizes of the animals represented in the several figures in the cave.

No. 10, an animal, fifteen and a half inches long, eight inches from top of rump to the hind feet, six inches from the fore shoulders to fore feet, and four inches from top of the head to the end of the nose.



FIG. 10.

No. 11, probably a bison or



FIG. 11.

buffalo as the hump indicates, painted on the rock with some black substance. From the nose to the end of the body, eleven inches; eight and a half inches from the hump or shoulders to the feet, and seven and a half

inches from the rump to the hind feet. As the tongue protrudes, the animal would seem to be in the act of bellowing for its fellows or its young.

No. 12, a heron; from end of bill to the toes, seventeen and a half inches, and four inches from the top of the back to the opposite part of the body.

No. 13, perhaps designed to represent a canoe, twenty-eight inches across from the extreme point to the other, and five and a half inches from the top to the bottom at the largest point.



FIGS. 12 and 13.



FIG. 14.

No. 14, a chief with eight plumes and a war club; eleven inches from top of head to the lower extremity, and six inches and three-quarters from the tip of the upper finger to the end of the opposite arm. The war club six and a half inches long.



FIG. 15.

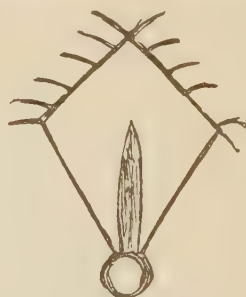


FIG. 16.

No. 15, implements or weapons; the engraving thirteen inches by nine—the one on the right, with a handle, eight and a half inches long; and the arrow beside it, nine inches.

No. 16, perhaps an altar, with its ascending flame; twelve inches in height, by nine wide.

No. 17, perhaps a representation of flames, as given in Quackenbos's *School History of the United States*, edition 1868, p. 24;

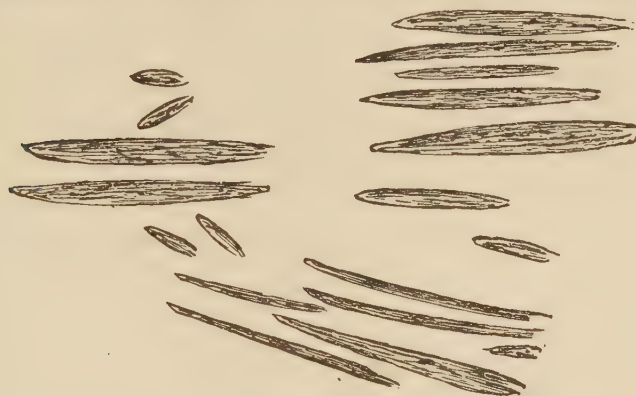


FIG. 17.

or it may be designed to represent ears of corn. Twenty-four inches in length by seventeen in breadth; the longest flame, or ear, ten and a half inches, and an inch and a half thick; the smallest three inches long, and three-fourths of an inch thick.

Additional Notes on the Pictured Cave

By Hon. John A. Rice

I visited the pictured cave you so kindly requested me to do in behalf of the State Historical Society, and avail myself of the earliest opportunity to examine my notes, and also the facsimile sketches of the animal representations there found, courteously presented to me by Rev. Edward Brown, and from them have prepared the report, which I now submit for the use of the Society. Great credit is due to Mr. Brown for bringing the discovery of the cave to the notice of archæologists. This cave is situated on the farm of a Mr. Samuel, near West Salem, in the county of La Crosse, and was discovered by a son of Mr. Samuel when trapping coons in a hole some animal had dug into the

cave. The cavern is simply an enlarged fissure in the soft Potsdam sandstone, which abounds in that region, and is situated on the eastern edge of a small marsh surrounded on all sides, except the north, by a high ridge of this sand rock. The original opening to the cave was on a level with this marsh, and was about fifteen feet wide. At some former time, a "land-slide" had occurred, which must have completely closed the opening. On this slide there is a stump two feet in diameter, far gone into decay. This stump stands above the top of the cave, and the roots have had to be cut away to effect an entrance. A careful examination revealed the fact that the tree (a poplar) was one hundred and twenty-five years old, and Mr. Samuel says it was a dead tree twenty-five years ago. On my arrival, a large opening had been made, which was closed with a door, kept securely locked. About three feet of sand had been removed from the entire floor of the cave.

In company with Rev. Mr. Brown, and three other reverend gentlemen, Revs. A. Clark, P. Hitchcock, and J. C. Webster, with many of the people living near by, I commenced excavations by making a cross section of the back part of the cave, carrying it down to the water, a distance of over five feet, and had the sand wheeled out of the cave, thoroughly examining every load. This section revealed four separate and distinct layers of ashes and burnt sand, in some places almost vitrified. These layers varied from four to six inches in thickness, and between them were as many layers of clean, white sand, varying in thickness from nine to twelve inches. The excavation was thus carried forward until the entire floor of the cave had been carefully examined, the layers of ashes and sand continuing throughout. In the first layer of ashes nothing whatever was found. In the second layer a few pieces of pottery were discovered. These pieces were smooth on both sides, and were made of clay and pounded shells. In the third layer several pieces of pottery were also found. These pieces were all made of the same material as that found in the second layer; but it was all ornamented on the outer surface. Many fragments, and whole sides of fresh water bivalve shells were found in the second and third layers of ashes.

In the clean sand just above the third layer a bone dagger or bodkin, seven inches long, and in an excellent state of preservation, was found.

Careful search was made for human bones, but not a trace was found, and, with the exception of a few bones belonging to some of the feathered tribe, none others were discovered.

The roof of the cave is an irregular arch, extending backwards thirty feet, and, before the occurrence of the land-slide, was simply a rock shelter with a western exposure, and an opening of fifteen feet, extending back, as already related, thirty feet, and presenting a height of about fifteen feet.

But the only thing remarkable about this cave is the crude and rough representations of men and animals on its sides, facsimiles of which you already have. These representations include the bison, the elk, lynx, rabbit, and the heron, with two or three representations of men, one with a bow and arrow, in the act of shooting a deer or elk, and with the head ornamented with eight plumes or feathers. One of the pictures suggests the hippopotamus, and it is one of the largest representations in the cave; but, on the other hand, there is in one group a bison, a lynx and a rabbit, all of the same size, so that the mere fact of size may, and may not, mean anything, and is quite as likely to represent the bear as anything else, and perhaps more so, as, if this does not delineate that animal, there is no representation of him in the cave, which would seem strange, as the bear must have been quite as well known as the three others named.

In regard to the antiquity of these drawings there can be no question, for some of them were covered with sand, and besides I found pieces of the rock buried in the sand, which had fallen from the sides, with portions of the inscriptions upon them, which fact must be regarded as proof positive of a greater or less antiquity. These are all the facts in regard to the cave that I think worth noting.

Now, as to the conclusions to be drawn from the representations here found, and which are the only objects of interest. The fact that we find four distinct and separate layers of ashes, with pottery in two of them of a different order and make, would cer-

tainly indicate four separate and distinct occupations of the rock shelter, each occupying a greater or less length of time, and when we recollect that the Indian always contents himself with the smallest possible amount of fire, and take into consideration the thickness of the layers of ashes, it is fair to conclude that each occupation of the cave must have continued some considerable period of time. The layers of sand are easily accounted for, as resulting from the disintegration of the soft rock above the cave, as it fell down from the edge of the cliff which would naturally drift into the cavern or shelter, and, more or less, rapidly, make the layers mentioned; and although the rock of the sides and roof of the cave are quite soft, the disintegration has been exceedingly slow, as there has been no percolation of water, and especially since the closure of the opening, the frost has not acted upon the walls, so that the change since that time at least has been very slight indeed, and accounts for the well preserved condition of the pictures.

It is, perhaps, impossible to say during which of these occupations of the shelter the drawings were made; but taking into consideration the height of the zone of pictures above the first and second occupations, they could hardly be referred to either of these, and therefore must have been made during the third or fourth occupation, and from the proof positive of the closure of the cave for a period of at least one hundred and fifty years, a considerable antiquity must be allowed.

I have an interesting facsimile of an attempt at history-writing by the Sioux, with its interpretation. It is a rough representation of some one event in each year, occurring during the period from 1800 to 1870; and very much resembles some of the sketches in this cave. After a careful comparison of these and similar Indian drawings I have, I am forced to the conclusion that these representations in the La Crosse Valley pictured cave are also of Indian origin. Everything about them indicates this; especially the drawing of the human figure with eight plumes on his head can be regarded in no other light than as an Indian of some note, who displayed his eight feathers as indicating the taking of so many scalps, and would be so interpreted by any Sioux

or other Northwestern Indian. If these conclusions are correct, the greatest antiquity allowable would be from perhaps three to eight hundred years.

It is a little remarkable that so few animal bones were found, as we would expect, from the great amount of ashes, and the length of time the place has been occupied, to find the bones of animals used for food; but this can be accounted for from the fact that it was an open shelter, and the bones so used would have been in all probability, thrown out of the opening into the lake or marsh, as the case might be, and an examination of this locality, I think, would reveal considerable refuse of this kind; but the sand resulting from the land-slide, and that wheeled out of the cave, would make this a matter of considerable labor, so much so that while there I had no time to make it.

As you have facsimiles of the most of the drawings in this cave, and as you will also have the specimens of pottery, together with the bone dagger found, you will have, with the description here given, together with that of the Rev. Mr. Brown, which accompanies this report, all the facts in regard to this cave, about which so much has been said, and will be able to draw an intelligent conclusion in regard to the antiquity of the representations there found.

MERTON, WIS., July 4, 1879.

Notes on Jean Nicolet

By Benjamin Sulte

It seems proper to explain what called forth the following paper on Jean Nicolet. The advent of this early and hardy explorer to Wisconsin is not noticed by our great historian, Bancroft, nor by our own Wisconsin historian, Gen. Wm. R. Smith. And even that careful antiquary, Dr. J. G. Shea, has not given him the credit of visiting our territory as early by some five years as he is justly entitled.

Father Le Jeune, in his letter of Sept. 10, 1640, published in the *Jesuit Relations*, states substantially that "Nicolet, who had penetrated farthest into those distant countries, avers that had he sailed three days more on a great river which flows from that lake [Green Bay], he would have found the sea;" hence, Mr. Shea infers, as this was written in 1640, that Nicolet's Wisconsin visit must have occurred not very long before, and thus, in his *Discovery of the Mississippi*, 1852, places it "as early as 1639," and again "about 1639;" while in his "Indian Tribes of Wisconsin" (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, 1857, iii, 126), he says "in 1639," which he repeats in his edition of Charlevoix's *New France*, 1866, ii, 137, note.

Parkman, following Shea's earlier work, places this event, in his *France and England in North America*, 1869, as occurring "in or before the year 1639;" and in his *Jesuits in North America*, 1870, has it "as early as 1639." Neill's *Minnesota* adopts Shea's later date of 1639.

In 1876, Mr. Sulte, the author of the following paper, published his excellent *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature*, in which he devotes a chapter to Jean Nicolet, showing that he made his Wisconsin exploration in 1634-35. Mr. Sulte's attention was called to a possible later period as the time of Nicolet's visit; and this inquiry drew from him the subjoined paper, proving quite conclusively that he made his eventful journey to Wisconsin in 1634-35, and could not have made it at a later period.

The further question which Mr. Shea avers, and Parkman twice repeats, that Nicolet partly descended the Wisconsin, and which the Canadian historian, F. X. Garneau, in the *Journal de Québec*, of April 20, 1854, admits may have been so, if "the most liberal interpretation" be assumed. Mr. C. W. Butterfield controverts this point, with apparent success, in a monogram on *Nicolet's Discovery of Wisconsin*, which will soon be given to the public, and will deservedly attract the attention of all lovers of the truth of history.

That "Nicolet was a remarkable man," as Parkman asserts, is abundantly shown by the *Jesuit Relations*, Ferland's *Notes sur les Registres de Québec*, the works of Shea and Parkman, and the forthcoming volume of Mr. Butterfield.

L. C. D.

At what time was Nicolet appointed interpreter of the Company of New France, otherwise called the Hundred Associates or Partners?

Nicolet arrives in the country in 1618, being a nominee or a protégé of Champlain. He goes immediately to Allumettes Island, on the Ottawa, in order to study the Indian language. In 1622, he is noted as having already a very extensive influence among the Algonquin Indians. And for a period of eight or nine years after 1622, says Father Le Jeune, a particular friend, he lived with the tribes of the Nipissing—that is, from 1623–31.

In 1627, the Company of New France is founded, fulfilling the views of Champlain, whose friendship towards his protégé, Nicolet, may have induced him to give him the rank of official interpreter, which he fully deserved. It is to be noted that Hertel, Godefroy, Marguerie, Marsolet, Brulé, and Le Tardif, were, as well as Nicolet, all young men of thirty years, or thereabouts, at this period—1627; and that they had had already a good many years of experience among the Indians. In speaking of them our historians have always styled them interpreters, and so they really were. I may add, that I believe I have always noticed the above named persons mentioned in the writings of this period as “interpreters.” We know, also, that Hertel, Brulé, Godefroy, Marguerie, and Le Tardif, were located, or had charge of various localities of trade between Gaspé and Montreal, during the time that Nicolet was living among the tribes of the Upper Ottawa and the Nipissing region, and 1618–1629, leaving that country to himself, and partly to Marsolet who resided there, I believe, for some period prior to 1629.

In my *Life of Nicolet*, I say that I am not certain that he did, or did not, return to Quebec before 1629. My impression is, that he might have been there in 1628, to receive orders from Champlain on account of the new state of things inaugurated by the creation of the system of 1627—“The Hundred Associates;” but I see no reason why he should not have ranked from that time with the interpreters of New France. The *Relation* says that he remained with the Nipissing during the occupation of Quebec by the English—1629–32.

July 19th, 1629, Quebec is taken by Kertk; surrendered back to the French in July, 1632, when Emery De Caen took possession, and landed with the Jesuit Fathers.

In July, 1632, was the month, I might say the only month, during which the trade of the Great Lakes was performed on the St. Lawrence, mostly on the spot where Three Rivers stood afterwards. The flotilla of bark canoes used to spend from eight to ten days, and no more, in that place, very seldom reaching Quebec. Therefore, so soon as De Caen arrived in July, 1632, he was in a position to send orders to the most remote interpreter of the country, Nicolet, through the Indians returning home that very month. Generally it took five weeks for them to reach Georgian Bay.

It was in 1633, I firmly believe, that Nicolet was ordered to go down to Quebec, as I have thus explained. The *Rclation* says positively, that on the French resuming possession of Quebec, he was called to the colony. Champlain arrived from France on the 23d of May, in that year. In June, he caused a small fort to be built about forty miles above Quebec, to afford protection to the trading flotilla descending the St. Lawrence, and which was always much exposed to the attacks of the Iroquois, especially when having landed at Three Rivers to trade. It was thought advisable to draw the trade nearer to Quebec, and thus the St. Croix fort was established in June, 1633. During the same month, and in the early part of it, one hundred and fifty Huron canoes arrived to trade. They must have left their country by the 1st of May, and traveled fast. No doubt that that "engressement," and the great number of them, can be explained by the news of the return of the French to Quebec in the preceding year. Nicolet must have been with them. In the meantime vessels arrived safely from France, loaded with provisions, people and supplies of various kinds. The promise of a bright period would seem to have dawned upon the colony. No wonder that Champlain should have taken advantage of this happy state of affairs to develop his scheme of exploration in the far and unknown country, the door of which he had reached in a single day, and where Nicolet had resided for so many years. Even supposing

that Nicolet did not go down to Quebec in 1633, he could have gone; and he certainly went there in the month of June, 1634, because he started from that place on the 2d of July with Father Brébeuf to proceed to the West.

Now, as I have already said, he had every right to be regarded as an interpreter from at least 1622. He may have been placed as such on the pay list in 1627; but having, as I presume, rendered very little service to the Hundred Associates between 1628 and 1633, it is likely that his employ as interpreter in full pay only dated in reality from the summer of 1632. So soon as he reached Quebec with the Indians of his "agency," either in 1633 or 1634, he was nothing else, I am sure, but an interpreter of the company, paid by them, and receiving his orders from them, through Champlain, their representative.

Why not say therefore, with the *Relation*, that he was an interpreter of the Hundred Associates when he was sent to explore Wisconsin? That, in my estimation, would be quite correct.

That Nicolet was interpreter at Three Rivers is not stated; and he could not have been because the fort at that place was not yet built, and the trade of 1632 and 1633 which took place partly at St. Croix, and partly at Quebec and Three Rivers, must have been attended by the various interpreters already mentioned in these notes, whilst nothing can explain how Champlain would have employed Nicolet at that period of his life on the St. Lawrence, after having prepared him with so great pains to carry on the business in the West.

It happened that when Father Brébeuf and Nicolet left Quebec for the West on the 2d of July, 1634, an expedition had sailed from there on the 1st of that month to go to Three Rivers to establish a fort. On the 4th, they were all arrived at that latter place; and the first pickets were planted under the eye of Nicolet, who immediately after renewed his journey to the West, in company with the Hurons who had been trading at Three Rivers that year; for they were determined not to go any farther in the direction of Quebec, and that is the reason why Champlain abandoned St. Croix, and established Three Rivers. In 1635, trade was carried on with the Hurons at Three Rivers between the 15th and the

23d of July. Had Nicolet returned from Wisconsin with them? I calculate that the trip from Quebec to Wisconsin must have taken ten weeks each way, leaving thirty weeks of the year—from July, 1634, to July, 1635—for the transactions connected with the object of his voyage, which is plenty. Consequently, he had time to start in July, 1634, and return in July, 1635.

From that moment, or rather from the 9th of December, 1635, we find Nicolet residing at Three Rivers as interpreter—and so continued till the year of his death, 1642.

Jean Nicolet, it will be seen, arrived in the colony in 1618, and immediately went to reside on the Ottawa River and Lake Nipissing. The *Relations des Jésuites* say that he remained there until the country was restored to France by the English, in 1632. The first time we find Nicolet below Montreal is in July, 1634, when Father Brébeuf states that he traveled up with him to Allumettes Island, on the Ottawa. The party with which Brébeuf was, passed Three Rivers, half-way between Quebec and Montreal, on the 4th of July, 1634. From Allumettes Island, where Nicolet had landed, Brébeuf traveled to the Huron missions, on the shore of the Georgian Bay. These facts are taken from the *Relations*.

Now comes my supposition, which is entirely new to historians. Nicolet left Allumettes Island about September, 1634, and went to Wisconsin. He must have spent the winter there, in order to return to Canada with the trading parties the following summer. The Indians from the Great Lakes used to reach Three Rivers in July and August; never before nor after that period. They were there on the 20th of July, 1635.

On the 9th of December, 1635, I find Jean Nicolet, interpreter, at Three Rivers, as recorded in the register of the church; and again on the 21st, 27th and 29th of the same month. Again on the 7th and 9th of January; 20th of April; 30th of May; and the 28th of August, 1636.

Nicolet must have spent the winter of 1636-37 in Three Rivers, because we find him on the 16th of April, 1637, leaving that place to go to Quebec at the call of the Governor General. Eleven days after he is present at a council at Quebec, in the interest of the establishment of an Indian settlement at Three Rivers. Dur-

ing the summer of that year he is mentioned in the *Relations* two or three times in connection with the defense of that village against the Iroquois.

At Quebec, 7th of October, 1637, Nicolet marries Marguerite Couillard. The marriage contract is dated in that city, 22d of October, 1637. On the following 18th of November, he is mentioned in the church register at Three Rivers, where he spent the whole winter of 1637-38. From that moment his wife is present at church nearly every month in Three Rivers up to 1642, the date of Nicolet's death, as the register shows.

The church register of Three Rivers for 1638, only contains the first five months of that year. Nicolet's presence, during that period of five months, is mentioned only on the 19th of March. After that we find him again at the same place on the 9th of January, 1639. There is no probability that he went to Wisconsin and returned during that short period of less than ten months, of which the half was not fit for traveling back from that remote point to the St. Lawrence. Besides, we know that the spirit of discovery had died with Champlain on the 25th of December, 1635; and we may also believe that Nicolet, after his marriage, never again attempted those daring excursions among unknown nations that marked his early career. He is present at church in Three Rivers 9th of January, 4th of March, the 16th, 18th, and 20th of July, and the 7th of December, 1639. On the 9th of October of the same year he was present at Quebec to attend the marriage of the father and mother of Jolliet. Nicolet is at Three Rivers again on the 26th of January, 1640. He died two years after that date; and during all that time we trace him month by month in the parish register of Three Rivers.

In brief, Nicolet must have traveled to the Mississippi in the year 1634-35, from July to July, because that period is the only one during which we cannot find him on the shore of the St. Lawrence.

Nicolet had nothing to do with the Jesuits. Therefore, it is not possible that he traveled on discovery in connection with those Fathers, who, at that time—1636, and afterwards—were the only persons taking an interest in Western discovery. Being an em-

ploye of the Hundred Partners, Nicolet remained at Three Rivers from 1635 to 1642; and we know that neither the Hundred Partners nor M. de Montmagny, the governor general, who came to succeed Champlain in June, 1636, troubled themselves about the Great Lakes, and the country beyond them. I cannot see any reason why Nicolet would have visited Wisconsin after the death of Champlain; after he had abandoned the life of the woods; after he had got married; after he had become an employe of the principal commercial company of Canada; when nobody seems to have wanted him to resume his old style of life; but, on the contrary, at a time when his presence at Three Rivers was so important both winter and summer.

August, 1877.

Early Historic Relics of the Northwest

By James Davie Butler, LL. D.

In the seventh volume of the *Collections* of this Society, I contributed an account of a Westphalian medal of 1648, which had been plowed up in our Northwest, in Buffalo Co., Wis., in 1861. It was my endeavor to show that that relic might very possibly have been brought to America by Hennepin, the first white man who ascended the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony.

A Venetian Medal of 1685

Oddly enough, I have now fallen in with a sort of counterpart to that Buffalo finding—a medal which, it may be, belonged to a man who discovered as much of the Southern Mississippi as Hennepin did of the Northern.

The oldest of all portable monuments are coins and medals. They are “eternal jewels.” The places where they turn up are as surprising as their age. Such an antique lately came into my hands at Ottawa, Illinois, where a countryman or peddler had sold it as old silver to a dealer in bric-a-brac.

Its date is 1685; it is in perfect preservation, and evidently a Venetian medal. On the rim between the two faces are the words: *Virtute et fortuna Venetorum*—“By the valor and success of the Venetians.”

The obverse is the Venetian lion triumphing. His left paw holds an open book inscribed, *Pax tibi, Marce, evangelista meus*—“Peace to thee, O Mark, my evangelist.” Beneath his feet are a cimetar, spear, and three chains, which hold captives, who are turbaned and kneeling, one bearing the crescent badge, another with hands bound behind his back. Other captives are half seen. Behind all, and beneath a star, is a warrior wearing a cap peculiar to the doge of Venice. Above all are the words, *Leoni Ultori*—

“To the Lion, the Avenger;” and below these words, an arm thrust out of a cloud and laying a crown decorated with a palm branch on the head of the winged lion. Below all are the figures, 1685. The reverse shows a wonderful map of Greece southward from Prevesa on the west, and Eubœa on the east. The names of twenty-two places are more legible than in almost any modern map. The position of each city is indicated by something resembling a wall and gate. Over ten cities there rises a cross, over five a crescent. The outlines of seven islands are marked; those of bays and rivers, forests and mountains, are still more numerous.

The medal is of silver, and four and one-half inches in circumference. It weighs two hundred and sixty-two grains. Its age, lacking only six years of two centuries, renders it miraculous that I behold it untouched by time’s effacing fingers. Many letters are delicate, but not one is erased. The lion’s nose was stamped in high relief, and it has been a little snubbed and flattened. In all other respects, we survey this relic with nothing of that artistic finish marred, and nothing of that polished brightness dimmed with which it came forth from the mint where all Christendom learned the art of coining.

On the whole, few specimens of the numismatic art are more creditable than the medal before me. But as an historical memorial it is far more memorable.

It celebrates the last great triumph of Venetian arms. The war to which it relates was waged between Venice and Turkey for fifteen years; from 1684 to 1699. The Venetians, under Morosini who had become world-famous by defending Candia at the close of the longest siege recorded in history, invaded Greece. They first attacked the Ionian Islands on its western coast. They conquered Santa Maura in sixteen days; then overran Cephalonia and Zante. Next they captured Prevesa and Arta north of the Corinthian Gulf. Afterwards, landing on the Morea, which Turkish tyrants had held for more than two centuries, they mastered Navarino, Modon, Coron, and before the end of two years they had driven the Turks out of the whole Southern Peninsula, except Naplia and Corinth. In 1687, they besieged the Acropolis of Athens, and at length took it. In the annals of art, this siege

will be evermore lamentable. It has "dammed itself to everlasting fame." In the course of it, a Venetian bomb falling upon the Parthenon, which was the Turkish powder magazine, blew out both sides of the most exquisite architectural miracle which the world has ever seen—at once the glory of Phidias and Ictinus, and the shame of all ages since. Worst of all, the taking of Athens was no permanent gain. In a few months Morosini's forces were so out-numbered that they were obliged to retire from that city they had bought so dearly. But they held out for a generation in the Peloponnesus.

The conquests of Morosini, which may now appear insignificant, in his own time were almost beyond belief. They were the first foothold gained in the Levant by any Christian state since the crusades, the first break in the prestige of Ottoman invincibility. The joy at Venice was unbounded. The statue of Morosini was set up in the "hall of ten." He was honored with the sonorous title of *Peloponnesiacus*, and the ring and cap of supreme magistrate or doge were sent to him while he was among his soldiers and sailors in Greece. Hence, on the medal, his costume betokens alike the warrior and the doge. Indeed, the occasion of stamping it seems to have been his triumphal career in behalf of the city which had sent to him, saying: "Come thou and rule over us!" The history of the czar today is only repeating that of Morosini, two centuries ago.

But neither in an historical nor in an artistic point of view is my medal most interesting. It fascinates me most because it was found where one would no more look for it than that it should appear dropping down from the clouds, or picked out of the stomach of a pickerel. It first met my eye in central Illinois—not far from the rock of St. Louis, which was the Gibraltar of La Salle, and I suppose was discovered in the ground there, or thereabouts. It was by no means old when lost or buried. Had it been, it could not possibly remain today so fresh and new in aspect.

How came it in Illinois? I hold that this plate of Italian silver may have been sent to the Italian, Tonty, the officer who discovered one mouth of the Mississippi on the same day that La Salle discovered another, and who, for twenty years afterward,

commanded at the Rock of St. Louis, near which the medal was found. Its date was right in the midst of Tonty's holding this command. It showed Italian successes among Eastern barbarians. Nothing could have greater attractions for an Italian who was grappling with Western barbarians. More than this, Tonty had himself fought near Turks—and like Cervantes, lost a hand in battling there. What could he love better than to see those infidels, as on the medal, in chains and trampled on by the Italian lion? Nor were opportunities wanting for this blazon of Venetian glory to reach Tonty. Goods, dispatches, traders, soldiers, and, above all, missionaries, notably St. Cosme, whom Tonty escorted for more than a month and those sometimes from Italy, came to him every year.

That some Italian medals were brought into our Northwest, by early missionaries, is certain. One of them was discovered in May, 1878, by Patrick McCabe, a railroad laborer, while digging out gravel by the site of old Fort Howard, near Green Bay. This medal bears the Jesuit escutcheon, namely, an orb inscribed with the three letters, I. H. S., having a cross above them, and three nails below them. Beneath this coat of arms two angels kneel. At their feet is the mint mark ROMA, while an Italian inscription forms an arch over all the figures. It has been ascertained by Bishop Krautbauer, from the general of the Jesuits, that no such medal has been struck since the restoration of the order in 1814. It must then be older than the abolition of the order in 1773. Its antiquity is probably much greater, as the permanent French mission at Green Bay was given up in 1729. The certainty that sacred medals came from Italy into our early Northwest, will not let me think it incredible that secular medals simultaneously penetrated that distant region.

These considerations may serve to strengthen other proofs which, I confess, do demonstrate thinly. When a more plausible conjecture is presented, I will give up mine. Meantime, however, I have reason to prize the Morosini medal as a memorial of Tonty, and hence, to the best of my present knowledge, the most ancient and hence honorable relic of any white settler which Illinois, in all its length and breadth, can boast, a witness whose tales, if he

had a tongue, would lack only six years of running back two centuries.

It is unlikely that the Morosini medal was brought into Illinois in recent years. After inquiry among numismatists in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, I find no duplicate of it in America. Only two specimens have I been able to discover in a European tour of a year, namely, in the British Museum, and the city library of Leipsic.

A Seventeenth Century Ostensorium

Sixteen hundred and eighty-one is the date of the oldest tombstone at Plymouth on the hill above the rock where the Pilgrim Fathers landed. Wisconsin has a relic as old wanting five years, attesting the presence of European settlers within her borders. It is a memorial as indubitably genuine as the Massachusetts grave-stone, and more wonderful for many reasons.

This curiosity by a strange good fortune stands before me as I write. It is a silver ornament fifteen inches high, and elaborately wrought. A standard nine inches high supports a radiated circle, closed with glass on both sides, and surmounted with a cross. This glass case, accessible by a wicket, was intended to contain the sacramental wafer when exhibited for popular veneration. The sacred utensil is called a *soleil*, as resembling in shape the solar orb, and also a *monstrance* and an *ostensorium*, because used to demonstrate or ostentate the Corpus Christi.

The antiquity of the relic before me is beyond doubt or cavil. 'Around the rim of its oval base I read the following old French inscription, in letters every one of which, though rude, is perfectly legible :

† CE SOLEIL A ESTE DONNÉ PAR MR. NICOLAS PERROT A LA MISSION

DE ST. FRANÇOIS XAVIER EN LA BAYE DES PUVANTS. † 1686

That is in English: "This *solary* was presented by Mr. Nicolas Perrot to the mission of St. Francis Xavier, at Green Bay, in the year 1686." For the reason of the name *Puans*, or, in Perrot's orthography, *Pvants*, being given to the Indians at Green Bay, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. vii, p. 126.

A lawyer, full of skeptical suggestions, like the Satanic toad squatting at the ear of Eve, whispers that this inscription might be cut in our times as easily as two centuries ago. So, too, it were as easy to write his legal documents, if forged, as if genuine; yet he believes in them.

The ostensorium was sent to me by Rev. F. X. Krautbauer, the Bishop of Green Bay. The inscription on it was printed by Shea, in his *History of Catholic Missions* in 1854, who cites for his authority McCabe's *Gazetteer of Wisconsin*, of which only fragments were published in a Milwaukee paper with which he was connected. But the shrine on which it is engraved had been turned up fifty-two years before, at Green Bay, in 1802. Such is the Catholic tradition which we have no reason to distrust.

Regarding Perrot, the donor of the ostensory, little was known when it was unearthed. But it is now ascertained that he was traversing the Northwest in 1663, and for a quarter of a century thereafter. He was the earliest and ablest of those French agents sent west of Lake Michigan to gather up fragments of nations scattered by the Iroquois, and confederate them under French leadership against those inveterate foes of France. His adventures, largely in Wisconsin, he wrote out, not for publication, but for the information of Canadian governors. These memoirs, laid up in Parisian archives, were never printed till 1864, and remain



The Perrot Ostensorium

Presented to St. Francis Xavier mission at De Pere, in 1686, by Nicolas Perrot, French commandant of the West. The contemporary inscription to this effect is on the rim of the base, shown above.

to this day untranslated. The date on the ostensory tallies with the period when he was governor of Green Bay and all the Northwest. Such a present was in keeping with his devotional proclivities, his fondness for the missionaries, and his desire to make his favor for those apostles manifest to Indian converts.

The mission at De Pere—five miles above Green Bay—was the oldest west of Lake Michigan, except that at La Pointe. It was established sixteen years before the date of Perrot's present, that is in 1670. The first chapel was probably a bark wigwam, but in 1676 a fine church was erected through the efforts of Charles Albanel. The same year, Father Silvy reported as baptized at that station, thirty-six adults and one hundred and twenty-six children. But within a twelve-month after the benefaction of Perrot, the De Pere church was burned by pagan Indians. It is natural to suppose that at the first alarm, the ostensory was buried in the earth by its guardians, who sought to save it from sacrilegious hands, and who succeeded so well that they were never able to recover it themselves. The earth near De Pere was a sort of Pompeii, sealing up in secrecy and safety a witness who stood much nearer the cradle of our history than Pompeii to that of Italy.

In 1802, about one hundred and fifteen years after the De Pere chapel was burnt, workmen digging a foundation for a bark-house in Green Bay, about five miles distant, and near the river bank, dashed against a silver vessel which proved to be Perrot's present. This finding seems to have been made on the old Langlade-Grignon estate, and to have been taken in charge by Mrs. Grignon. It was used by traveling missionaries who were wont to celebrate divine service in the upper room of her house. After the first Catholic church had been built in 1823, it was used there. After the burning of that church in 1828, it was carried by Father Badin to St. Ann's, in Detroit. Discovered there in 1838 by Father Bonduel, the Green Bay priest, it was redeemed by him for twenty-six dollars, or *gulden*, and brought back to Green Bay.

A facsimile of the marvelous monstenance has been taken by our Madison photographic artist, Mr. N. P. Jones, for preservation in the halls of the Historical Society. The original I restore to the

Bishop of Green Bay, who keeps it in his vault. Its weight is a trifle over twenty ounces, and the *repoussé* work, rayonnant and flamboyant, attests that it must have been manufactured in France itself—just as the rudeness of the lettering bears witness of a Green Bay provincial goldsmith. An odd bit of proof has fallen in my way that the soleil is at least seven years older than 1686, the date of its consecration to the mission. It is this. In 1679, Louis XIV issued a decree that every soleil should have a mark and countermark stamped on its oval base. The soleil now before me bears no such stamp. Either therefore it is older than 1679, or through pious fraud it evaded the royal order. The base was broken from the standard by the pickaxe, but the fracture has been well repaired.

There are four memorials older than the ostensorium of Perrot, proving the presence of white men in Wisconsin,—but they are all treasured far beyond its borders, and I fear will be for a long time. One is the original manuscript of Marquette, detailing his journey across Wisconsin and down the Mississippi, which was written at Green Bay in the winter of 1673–74. This writing is in the College of St. Mary at Montreal. The second memorial is Jolliet's notes on the same journey, written on his return to France in 1674, and preserved in the seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris. The other two are maps—both preserved in Parisian archives, one is of Lake Superior, drawn up in 1671—the other dating from 1679, “*shows the Messipi from 49° to 42°, where the Misconsing comes in,*” according to an inscription upon it.

Fragments of French arms—and other metallic, glass, or earthen articles, doubtless exist in the Northwest, that are older than the sacred silver of Perrot. But none known to me can be proved of so great antiquity, for none of them bear dates that are tell-tales of their age. In Ottawa, I saw a bronze cross picked up at the foot of Starved Rock, and called Marquette's. But it bears no date. There is another of silver that was found at Green Bay, and presented long ago to our State Historical Society. But how old it is no one knows, or can know, as it has no inscription or mark of any kind to indicate its age.

Some other dated votive offering to the La Pointe or Green

Bay missions, even before 1686, may possibly come to light. But aside from such an improbable windfall, it seems impossible that any antiquarian discovery this side of the prehistoric period, either in Wisconsin, or, indeed, out of it, in all the length and breadth of the Mississippi Valley, can ever be made that shall rival as a work of art—as a religious relic, and, above all, as a historical memorial, the silver ostensorium of Nicolas Perrot.

With good reason, then, has Wisconsin fostered her Historical Society, till it is pre-eminent throughout the West. It had the most precious memorials to enshrine.

The volume by Perrot which I have mentioned, treated of the manners, customs, and religion of the aborigines in our north-western lake region, intermingled with much of personal narrative. Its exact title is, *Memoire sur les Mœurs, coutumes et religion des Sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1864, 8vo.). From this work and La Potherie, *L'Amerique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1703), you may glean the personal history of Nicolas Perrot, and what is more, facts regarding Wisconsin in the seventeenth century, in greater abundance than from all other sources. According to these authorities, as early as 1661, Perrot reports some Frenchmen already among wandering Sauteurs or Chippewas, in or near the present boundaries of Wisconsin. In 1665, he describes his visit to the Outagamis. In May, 1667, he was at Green Bay. In 1669, with four French followers, he was an auxiliary of the Hurons. In 1670, we find him at Green Bay, embarking for the east in a fur fleet of thirty canoes. In 1671, he led representatives of eleven tribes, mostly from the territory of Wisconsin to Mackinaw, and served as their interpreter, while they swore friendship to each other and allegiance to the king of France.

In the spring of 1685, Perrot arrived at Green Bay, as governor of the country, embracing the whole Northwest, like Cass, in 1820. He was well known to the Indians, and of great influence. He came just in time to be a mediator between the Ottawas and the Outagamies, who were then beginning an internecine struggle. His negotiation was much facilitated by his rescuing a female captive of distinction from one of these parties, and restoring her to her friends belong-

ing to the other. He then, passing down the Wisconsin to its mouth, and up the Mississippi about eighty leagues, built a fort on the Minnesota side of the river. The next year, 1686, he spent in part at Green Bay, and it was this year in which he presented the mission the ostensorium, which, but for his book, would be the only monument of his presence in Wisconsin. The next year, 1687, he headed several hundred Indians, largely from Wisconsin, on an expedition against the tribes of western New York.

In 1690, Perrot was again in Mackinaw. In the year following, lead was brought to him at his fort on the Mississippi, twenty-one leagues above the Des Moines River. In 1695, he brought five Wisconsin chiefs to Montreal, and his final recall from Green Bay was in 1699. On the whole, Perrot, the man, should figure in Wisconsin history as conspicuously as his unique monstrosity stands among its monuments.

To my great surprise, another ancient French ostensorium has been discovered by Bishop Krautbauer, of Green Bay, and sent to me for comparison with Perrot's present. It now belongs to Rev. Wm. Färber, of St. Louis, but it was brought there from the French mission in Kaskaskia, by Father T. P. Klein. It is identical in type with Perrot's relic. Its height is the same, but it weighs four ounces less. It bears on its cross and base the marks and counter-marks prescribed by the royal order in 1679, already alluded to, which was dated December 30th, and was as follows: "Les soleils seront marques et contre-marques a la croix du rayon, et aux deux grandes faces du pied, s'ils sont carres, si non, au bouge." [Ostensoria shall be marked and counter-marked on the rayed cross, and on the two principal faces of the base, if it is square; if it is not, on the oval base.]

The relic from Kaskaskia bears three stamps on its cross. One is an inverted crown standing over a letter E. One of the other two stamps shows the French lily beneath a crown, and above it a cross with two dots, said to be Jesuit symbols of the wounds of Christ, and the letters I. L. B. The other stamps on the base are similar to those on the cross. These marks prove the handiwork that bears them to be less than two centuries old, but who can tell how much less? In 1870, a woman of Kaskas-

kia, who was then ninety years old, told Father Klein that this monstrance was in use there from her earliest remembrance, and that her mother could not remember when it was brought thither.

Notice of another ostensorium at Green Bay, even more ancient than that of Perrot, has come to my knowledge. This notice occurs among the documents edited by Pierre Margry, regarding French discoveries and establishments in our West and Northwest (vol. ii, p. 178). It appears in detached leaves of an imperfect letter of La Salle, written in 1682. The writer treats of the productions of the Mississippi Valley. He speaks of red copper, and says he knows of one mass weighing more than four quintals. He also describes a species of sand which he supposed to contain quicksilver. In the midst of these accounts I find the following paragraph:

“A savage named Kiskirinanso, that is to say *Wild Ox*, of the Mascoutin tribe [who are laid down in Franquelin's map of 1684 as north of the Wisconsin River], a considerable war-chief among his people, says that in a little river to which he wished to lead me, he had discovered a quantity of white metal, a portion of which he gave to Father Allouez, a Jesuit, and that brother Gisles, a goldsmith who resides at Green Bay (the Bay of the Puans), having wrought it, made the sun-shaped article [*soleil*] in which they put the holy bread. He means the ostensory which this same brother has made there. He says that Father Allouez gave him a good deal of merchandise by way of recompense, and told him to keep the matter secret, because it (the metal) was a manitou, that is to say a spirit, who was not yet developed.”

It is scarcely possible that any Green Bay workman two centuries ago can have had the molds and tools needful for executing the elaborate *repoussé* work which we see in the gift of Perrot, and its Kaskaskia counterpart.

Perrot's motives for making the grand present of silver we can only conjecture. Those who believe that he had attempted to poison La Salle eight years before, may fancy that he was remorseful, and sought to quiet conscience by a gift laid on the altar. But those who think him to be unjustly charged with such a das-

tardly attempt, will hold that his offering was brought in payment of some vow made in perils, and not forgotten after miraculous preservations. Combining with one or both these considerations, may have been a desire to increase his prestige as governor of the Northwest by associating himself, in the minds of savages, with those priests whose power already passed among them for supernatural.

American Puritans seldom understand the dignity of the ostensorium among Catholic regalia. It is, therefore, worth noticing, that an ostensorium is the central figure in one of the most famous paintings in the world. In 1508, Raphael, who at twenty-five years of age had become the acknowledged head of Florentine artists, was invited to Rome, and asked to show his genius in the Vatican. In the center of a wide wall he painted an ostensorium, with Popes and all minor ecclesiastics on the right and left. Above it he added the Holy Dove, Christ, and God the Father amid cherubim, seraphim, and beatified saints, all bending their eyes on the sacred symbol below. Thanks to this inspiration, Raphael at once became as pre-eminent in Rome as he had before become in Florence.

Tradition of the Fox Indians, 1730

The following tradition is copied from the Niles (Mich.) *Register and Advertiser* of Dec. 12, 1835, and has the appearance of having been selected matter, with no reference as to its origin. It has some resemblance to the same tradition given by the late Augustin Grignon, when visited by the writer of this note in 1857, and given in the third volume of the Society's *Collections*.

This paper, brief as it is, is something of an addition to our traditional history; and as the details are somewhat different from Grignon's version, it would seem not to have come through him.

The name of the French captain slain at Green Bay is not given in this narrative; Capt. Grignon gave it as derived from the lips of his grandfather, DeVellie—so he pronounced it; and which the Canadian historian, Joseph Tassé, concludes was DeVilliers.

The date of the event here commemorated is somewhat doubtful; though the occurrence would seem to have taken place not very long anterior to Marin's expedition of March, 1730—some vague account of which is given in the fifth volume of our *Collections*, coupled with Grignon's tradition as recorded in our third volume. Though this terrible defeat of the Foxes, described by tradition as inflicted by Morand's, or more properly Marin's, expedition, may have been the capital stroke of the Sieur DeVilliers in September of the same year.

The period assigned for the almost total destruction of the Foxes at the Grand Butte des Morts, in the following tradition—that it occurred during Frontenac's Canadian administration, which extended from 1672 till his death in 1698—cannot be correct. There is no record of any military expedition within the borders of Wisconsin, prior to Louvigny's in 1716.

L. C. D.

During the time of Frontenac's government of the Canadas, the French occupied a post at Green Bay, nearly opposite the point on which Fort Howard now stands. Two young Menomonees of those days killed two Winnebagoes. The officer in command of the post demanded a surrender of the murderers. The surrender was promised. But Indians are proverbially slow, except in the chase or in battle. In all matters concerning life and death, they counsel, and delay to act. Pending the interval between the promise to surrender, and the time of its fulfillment, the French officer, becoming impatient, armed himself with a rifle, and taking a servant with him, went to the lodge to demand the instant surrender of the two young Menomonees. He found the Indians in council; a negotiation was pending. There had

arisen a difficulty. The two murderers were the adopted sons of an old Fox woman, who was loth to give them up. Hope was entertained, however, that her consent would finally be obtained. Thereupon, exasperated at the delay, and at what he perhaps suspected was Indian cunning, he levelled his rifle at the chief who represented the council, and shot him dead on the spot. An instantaneous rush was made on the officer to revenge the death of the chief, when another chief, rising and interfering, said: "It was the delay to act, that killed the chief, and not the officer. They owed what had happened to themselves." The party gave back, when the officer again demanded the instant surrender of the two young offenders. An answer was given: "We expect to get the old foster woman's consent soon." The officer having charged his rifle, shot down the speaker, whereupon a young Indian standing by, seized his gun and shot the officer.

The news flew—the French camp was presently in motion. War and revenge were resolved on. Reinforcements came in, in aid of the French, and the then powerful Chippewa and Menomonee bands. An immediate march was taken up, and the Fox Indians were now doomed to stand alone against the united power of the French, the Chippewas and Menomonees. The parties met on that beautiful piece of tableland, in nearly the center of which stands "Le Petit Butte des Morts." The Foxes were surrounded, and a desperate fight was fought, which resulted in the killing of vast numbers on both sides, but in great havoc among the Foxes. The survivors retreating farther up and along the shores of Lake Winnebago, were overtaken, and made another stand on the ground where now stands "Le Grand Butte des Morts." Here the parties fought to desperation, but the Foxes were literally cut to pieces. The tradition says all were slain, except about twenty; and these flying before their blood-thirsty pursuers were overtaken at the La Prairie du Chien, and made prisoners.*

*In the report of the Land Commissioner for the adjustment of land claims in Michigan territory, in 1820, occurs this reference to this war: "The Fox Indians were attacked and signally defeated by the French troops under Captain Morand, with the aid of their allies, the Chippewas, in the winter of 1706, at a place since called 'La Butte des Morts'; a great proportion of them were destroyed in this engagement, and many driven from the country."

Langlade Papers, 1737-1800

The stranger visiting the ancient settlement of Green Bay as late as 1827, would have found it in very nearly its primitive condition. No dwellings, save one or two, of modern structure, no vehicles similar to those found elsewhere, and, in fact, no highways in proper condition of improvement for their use.

About a half mile above the fort, which was near the mouth of Fox River, was the usual landing from vessels, where were the remains of the old Langlade and Grignon mansions—on one side the ruins of a grist-mill, and on the other several buildings, more or less in a state of decay, scattered along the river bank, at short intervals; the Langlade and Grignon possessions extending, either way, a distance of a mile or more.

After the death of Pierre Grignon, in 1795, his eldest son, Pierre, Jr., became the head of the family, and so continued until his death in 1823; when his brother, Augustin Grignon, assumed a similar position, and managed the large estates which the family had acquired during their long residence at the Bay. His residence was at the Grand Kaukauna, but by his tenants the whole Langlade and Grignon estate was occupied.

In the early spring of 1828, I took up my residence within the limits of the present city of Green Bay. Soon after, having procured a site from my friend, Mr. Augustin Grignon, who was in possession of the premises formerly occupied by his brother Pierre, my office was erected immediately opposite, and within a few feet of an old trading-house then in ruins. In passing the building which had remained unoccupied for several years, the floor of the loft still remaining intact, I discovered a large quantity of rubbish which seemed to have been abandoned to the action of storms of wind and rain, pouring in at will through the open gables.

There were several bushels of old accounts, books, letters and other papers, with dates recurring back a period of nearly one hundred years. Curiosity led me to spend hours in looking them over, as they proved to be an accumulation, during the life time, of Sieur de Langlade, Senior, his son Charles, and son-in-law, Pierre Grignon, Sr., all of whom had been dead many years. The settlement of Green Bay, at the time of my search, consisted of very few families of the old stock, chief of which were those of Lawe and the Grignons. It was natural to suppose, that these papers being treated as of no value, others of importance had been preserved by the descendants of Langlade, who were quite numerous, and that these would be of no little consequence in furnishing an historical account of men and events occurring during the first colonization of our State.

Those which were selected bore dates as far back as 1733, and embraced several letters relating to the Indian troubles of the period of 1755-60; and there were also a number written during the Pontiac War. They were taken to my office and kept several years, open to inspection by the curious. and, I regret to state, that some were abstracted without my cognizance; it is still more to be regretted, that I did not gather up all, of every description, and deposit them beyond the reach of idle or mischievous intruders.

Grignon's "Recollections," as given in the third volume of the Society's *Collections*, very interesting and truthful as they are, may be corrected in a few, perhaps unimportant particulars, by the papers now transmitted. These manuscripts, having been faithfully translated from the French originals by my two daughters, may also help to give authenticity to his traditions, which they would not otherwise possess.

M. L. MARTIN.

Langlade Papers

We the undersigned have ceded, and do cede, to Monsieur de Langlade, our father-in-law, all which belongs to us in the estate of the late Daniel Villeneuve, and Domitelle his widow, and wife of the said Sieur Langlade, with so much of the goods possessed and to be possessed. The declarants make no claim to the said estate either for themselves or for their children, on the charge and condition, nevertheless, that the Sieur Langlade pledges himself to support, and maintain as his own, the three last children now unprovided for, issue of the marriage of the said late Daniel Villeneuve, and his widow Domitelle, until the daughter who is to be provided for, shall be married, and the sons obtain positions in the army.

ANTON GUILLORY,
ANNIE VILLENEUVE,
wife of Guillory.

Done at MICHILIMACKINAC, this 23d of July, 1737.
J. L. De La Pierre,
Missionary of the Company of Jesus.

The Marquis de la Jonquiere, Commander of the Royal Military Order of St. Louis, Chief of squadron of the naval armies, Gov-

ernor and Lieut. General for the King in all New France, lands and counties of Louisiana:

It is permitted to Miss Bourassa to sell at auction or otherwise, all the effects left by Sieur de la Corne, seigneur, heretofore commander at Michilimackinac, and to retain the proceeds of the said effects to the said de la Corne at Montreal. We order Sieur Duplessis Fabres, not to oppose the sale of said effects, and to give the matter all the aid Miss Bourassa may require.

JONQUIERE.

Dated at MONTREAL, 20th June, 1750.

We concede with the good pleasure of the General to Mr. Bourassa, Sr., dwelling at this fort, a meadow or marsh, which lies on the road leading to Grand Lac, three-fourths of a league in depth at the distance of some arpents from the pinery where we cut the wood for his house in the eighth concession for him in property, or for his use as long as it pleases the General.

LIEUYER.

Done at MICHILIMACKINAC, the first of June, 1754.

'App'd.: HERBIN.

Louis Herbin, Captain of Infantry, Commandant for the King at the post of Michilimackinac:

Mr. De Langlade, Jr., is ordered to start from this post, as soon as he receives the present order, to go and take the command of the whole of Grand river and dependency, and will locate his establishment at the place named Gabagouache.

First Article of Instruction.—We order him to leave Kanamazoo [Kalamazoo River] free for all traders who may desire to go there.

Second Article.—We very expressly forbid him from going to trade in any or all other places under penalty of punishment reserved to us in this order to him.

Third Article.—We direct him to exert all his authority with which we entrust him, that the Indians be not debauched by any [person] under his authority; and also to exert all his power to live in peace, and have a good understanding between them and the Indians, and that they obey in all things commanded them for the good of the service.

Fourth Article.—He shall not permit any trader nor hired man to absent himself without permission, and shall not permit any hired men to go off hunting without seeing them when they start. He shall see that they do not carry any goods to interfere with the trade of others; this is on the supposition that the Indians do not bring any provisions themselves for your supply. He will take every precaution necessary to avoid the abuses which creep in; rendering me an account of all such abuses, and punishing by a good fine those who shall commit such frauds.

Fifth Article.—Having been further informed that a number of hired men were libertines in their intercourse with the squaws; and being desirous to remedy an abuse so prejudicial, we order Mr. De Langlade to take every care that the master (bourgeois) of each hired man give me the names of such guilty ones on their return, in order that a public example may be made of them.

Mr. De Langlade will take all necessary precautions to prevent the Indians of St. Joseph from inducing any portion of our hired men from going to the country of the Illinois, or other place, which might be prejudicial to our interest, in view of the want which we might have for the men in the spring.

We enjoin him to encourage them (the Indians) to come and listen to my words, which will be the sentiments of their father Onontio [the Governor of Canada].

We enjoin him, moreover, to give information to the gentleman in command at St. Joseph, of the difficulties which might arise between his nation and mine—to give him correct information of such things as he might be ignorant of, or in which he might be deceived by the people in his employ.

We rely upon the vigilance and exactitude of capacity of Mr. Langlade for the discipline of the men under his command. We give him power to act in the place in matters which I cannot foresee, and in all cases for the good of the service, being always careful to act in such manner that no reproach or complaint be made to me on your account, under penalty of the punishment inflicted by the ordinances.

HERBIN.

[SEAL.]

Made at MICHILIMACKINAC, 15th October, 1755.

We hereby direct all traders to return together from their winter quarters, and in case that some arrive or start before the others, they shall pay a fine of four hundred francs.

Dumais, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain of Infantry, Commander of the Belle Riviere (Ohio River) and its dependencies:

“It is ordered to Sieur Langlade, Ensign of infantry, to set out at the head of a detachment of French and Indians, to strike Fort Cumberland. In case the Indians determine to leave the main route, Sieur Langlade will detach a few reserves, with a company of French to follow them—the principal object of his mission being to ascertain if the enemy is inaugurating any movement in this quarter.

“He will march with precaution and watchfulness, in order to avoid all surprise and ambushade. If he attacks with the Indians, he must do all in his power to prevent them from inflicting any cruelties upon those who may fall into their hands.

“DUMAIS.”

Written at FORT DU QUESNE, Aug. 9, 1756.

Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King, in all his New France, lands and territories of Louisiana:

We order Sieur Langlade, Ensign of troops, to leave this city immediately, and to proceed to the post of Michilimackinac, where he will serve in the capacity of second officer, under the orders of Monsieur de Beaujeu, Commander of the post.

VAUDREUIL.

Made at MONTREAL, September, 1757.

MONTREAL, May 8, 1758.

La Sieur Giasson:

MONSIEUR.—I will not leave you in ignorance of the arrangements that I have made to reimburse you for the supplies that you have advanced to the Indians in passing through to Detroit.

I am very much pleased to be able to render you a service, persuaded that you will neglect nothing than can furnish new proofs of your devoted zeal toward the King.

I am very sincerely, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

*Monsieur de Langlade,
Officer at Michilimackinac.*

To Mons. Langlade, officer second in command at Michilimackinac:

SIR.—Your uncle (Kinonchausie*) has requested, in starting from here after the Chappelet, to say to you, that he did not think that he could procure any corn for you, first, because there is none—those who used to raise eighty sacks will possibly make up ten; second, because there are at Arbres Croches purchasers who give as much as seven fist-fulls of powder, three hundred balls and [one line here illegible] per sack.

I owe you many thanks, which I hope to make good to you by word of mouth on your passage, for the Indians have told me you were going to winter at Grand Riviere.

My respects, if you please, to your wife and to your parents. This is a year of crisis and desolation for us Michilimackians—the Indians only bringing sorrowful news from the neighborhood of Belle Riviere (Ohio). A most impetuous wind is now blowing, at ten o'clock in the evening, which is going to finish the ruin of your field. Bless God that it is no worse.

I am with much respect, Sir,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

P. DU JAUNAY.

At POINTE ST. IGNACE, 24th September, 1758.

BY THE KING:

His Majesty having made choice of Sieur Langlade to serve in the capacity of half-pay Lieutenant with the troops holding Can-

*Doubtless a brother of Langlade's mother as was also, King Nis-so-wa-quet, whom Col. De Peyster, in 1779, denominated "the great Nis-so-wa-quet, the Ottawa Chief."

ada, he commands the Lieutenant-General of New France to receive him, and cause him to be recognized in the capacity of half-pay Lieutenant by them and all others whom it may concern.

Done at VERSAILLES, February first, 1760.

Berryer.

LOUIS.

Registered at the Comptroller's office of the Marine, of New France, at Montreal, the 16th of June, 1760.

DEVILLERE.

Pierre Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Grand Cross of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieut. General for the King in all New France, lands and countries of Louisiana:

To Sieur Langlade, half-pay Lieutenant of the Colonial troops, whom we have intrusted with charge of the Indian nations of the Upper Countries, who are returning to their villages:

It is ordered to use the utmost diligence to report with them at Michilimackinac; to keep watch that they commit no theft nor insult upon those canoes of voyagers, which they may meet on their route; to encourage them always in their attachment to the French nation, giving them to understand that if we have the misfortune to be taken by the enemy, the Colony will remain but a few months, at most, in his power, for peace, if not already declared, is most certainly on the point of being so.

We notify Sieur de Langlade that he will, by our orders, pass two companies of deserters from the English army through the Upper Country, on their way to Louisiana. They are commanded by two sergeants, one of whom is Irish, the other German, both very intelligent men, and capable of maintaining discipline among their troops; the Sieur de Langlade will, therefore, give attention that his Indians stir up no quarrel with these deserters, and that they do not rob nor insult them while of the party; he will also procure for them the facilities they may need along the route, and when they separate; he will besides enjoin upon the Canadians destined to act as their guides, not on any account to abandon them.

Done at MONTREAL, the 3d Sept., 1760.

VAUDREUIL.

MONTREAL, 9th. Sept., 1760.

I must inform you, Monsieur, that I was compelled to surrender yesterday to the army of Gen. Amherst. This city is, as you know, defenseless. Our troops were greatly diminished, our means and resources totally exhausted. We were surrounded by three armies, numbering at least 80,000 men. General Amherst was from the sixth of the month within sight of the walls of the city; General Murray within reach of one of our outposts, and the army of Lake Champlain stationed on the prairie and at Longueville.

Under these circumstances, having nothing to hope from any advance, not even by a great sacrifice of our troops, I have deemed it the wiser course of capitulating to General Amherst, under conditions very advantageous to the Colonists, and especially for the inhabitants of Mackinac. In short, the terms preserve to them all the free exercise of their religion, and leaves them in possession of their goods, furniture, real estate and peltries. They have also reserved to them a free commerce, the same as is enjoyed by the proper subjects of the king of Great Britain. The same privileges are also accorded to the military. They are permitted to commission agents to look after their claims during their absence; they, as well as the Canadian citizens, can sell to the English and French their goods, sending the proceeds thereof, either to France, or retain them in their own possession, should they judge it best to return and remain in the Provinces when peace shall be declared. They may retain their negro serfs; but obliged to return any that have been taken from the English.

The English General, having pronounced the Canadians subjects of His Britannic Majesty, the people will for this reason discard the *Coutume de Paris*.*

With regard to the troops, the condition imposed on them has been, not to serve during the present war, and to lay down their arms, before being sent to France.

The citizens and inhabitants of Michilimackinac will consequently be under the command of the officer that General Amherst will have detailed for this post.

* The laws of France by which they had hitherto been governed. L. C. D.

You will transmit a copy of my letter to St. Joseph, and to the posts of the surrounding country, in order that any soldiers who still remain there, may conform to instructions.

I count on the pleasure of soon meeting you in France, together with all your gentlemen.

I have the honor to be, very sincerely, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

MICHILIMACKINAC, April 13th, 1763.

I have this day given permission to Messrs. Langlade, father and son, to live at the post of La Baye,* and do hereby order that no person may interrupt them in their voyage thither, with their wives, children, servants and baggage.

GEO. ETHERINGTON,

Commandant.

L'ARRE CROCHE, 28 June, 1763.†

SIR—I have had the pleasure of receiving four of your letters,

* While Charles de Langlade was married at Mackinaw, in 1754, and was doubtless much there, while not engaged in distant military service, during the French and Indian War of that period, yet it would seem that at the close of that contest, in 1760, he returned to Green Bay. There is no evidence that the French settlement at Green Bay was abandoned during that war—at least, Augustin Grignon, the direct descendant and representative of the Langlade family, and himself born there in 1780, expressed no doubt of its continued occupation to the writer of this note during his visit with him in 1857, while fully discussing every point upon which he could throw light, and noting down his interesting narrative of traditions and recollections.

Judge Martin, who has resided at Green Bay since 1827, never heard from the ancient settlers anything that ever led him to suppose that there was at any time any abandonment of the settlement after the Langlades first settled there; and in this view, Louis B. Porlier, son-in-law of Augustin Grignon, and all his life, of sixty-four years a resident of the Green Bay and Fox River Valley region, and his father, thirty-four years before him, fully coincides.

Hon. Wm. Woodbridge, Maj. Henry B. Brevoort, and J. Kearsley, commissioners of the United States for the settlement of land claims in Michigan Territory, in 1820, state that "the settlement at 'La Baye' does not seem to have been discontinued while the French remained masters in Canada," as shown in vol. iv., *Public Lands, Am. State Papers*, p. 851.

L. C. D.

†This letter has no address, and is found on page 852, vol. iv, *Public Lands, American State Papers*. It was unquestionably addressed to Charles Langlade, who, as the *Diary of the Siege of Detroit* shows, was appointed by Capt. Etherington to the command of the Mackinaw Fort, after its capture by the Chippewas, which appointment Maj. Gladwyn confirmed, till further orders.

but, as I had nothing new to write to you, I have deferred answering you until now.

The boat from the Bay has arrived, which brings us word that the tribes of the Bay are at the present moment clamoring to come and join us; and gives us reason for expecting them at every moment, with all the English who were at the Bay. The commandant at the Bay observes, that they are extremely well disposed towards us.*

The news which you noted for me in respect to Monsieur Ducharme, were told to me yesterday; but they are so extraordinary that I cannot believe them.†

As I expect every moment the four tribes (nations) from the Bay, I pray you to send me a boat with twelve sacks of wheat (or corn), twelve rolls of tobacco; and, if it is possible to get them, four or five porcelain (China) necklaces, with the wheat and the tobacco, tomorrow. If the boat is not ready, send a man by land with the news tomorrow.

You have written me something of the bad talk of our traders. I have questioned them, and they deny it; but, as I am persuaded that they had no reason for holding that sort of discourse, do me the kindness to inform me what was said; and if it is possible to convict any one of it, he shall be severely punished. Upon the subject of the two Ottawas, you will give them some little present, and encourage them to work well, and that they shall not be forgotten when matters shall be arranged.

The Fort was some thirty miles from L'Arbre Croche—a proper distance to correspond with the statement in Ethrington's letter, that it was to be conveyed to the Fort in one day, and a return made the next. This letter was placed in the hands of Isaac Lee, the agent sent to Green Bay in 1820, with other Langlade papers by Langlade's daughter, Mrs. Domitilde Langevin, formerly Mrs. Pierre Grignon, Sr., or her son, Pierre Grignon, Jr., in support of the land claims of her family. It has been kindly translated by O. M. Conover, LL. D.

L. C. D.

* Lieut. Gorrell had abandoned the post at Green Bay in obedience to Captain Ethrington's orders; and, with his command, was escorted to L'Arbre Croche by a body of friendly Menomonees, and arrived there June 30th, two days after the date of this letter.

L. C. D.

†Laurent Ducharme was an Indian trader, and was present at the capture of Mackinaw in 1763, as stated in Grignon's "Recollections," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, 233. The "extraordinary news" concerning Ducharme, has reference, doubtless to some bold robbery committed on him; as Ethrington, on the day of this letter, wrote to Lieut. Gorrell: "The Sauteurs or Chippewas continue their mischief—they have plundered all the canoes they have met with since I have wrote you last."—*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, 44.

L. C. D.

Upon the subject of Suvan [Sullivan?] if you think the risk of [keeping him under] guard in the fort is too great, you can send him to the mission [here]; but as for Fitzpatrick, you will do well to send him in by the first opportunity; and send a letter, as you have done so often, by the Englishman, and after that, keep him well concealed from the Indian lodges. As I am expecting a great many people from the Bay, I have need of six pounds of vermillion. As it is uncertain what effect the news from the Bay will have upon the Sauteurs [Chippewas], I beg you to keep upon your guard.

Monsieur Lesley* is at present with me. We take the liberty of saluting all your family, and all our friends in the fort.

I am, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

GEO. ETHERINGTON.

[The following is apparently added to, or endorsed upon, the above—perhaps by Father Du Jaunay, of the mission of St. Ignace, at L'Arbre Croche, who had probably by this time returned from Detroit, whither he had gone early in the month:]

I transmit to you the orders of the Commandant for the grain and other articles. If you have need, Monsieur La Comb will furnish you men and send them here.

PTE. ST. IGNACE, 3d Aug., 1763.

To Mr. Langlade, officer commanding at Michilimackinac:

SIR:—It was not doubtless, your expectation, but such has been the fact, that Cardinal has suffered a complete robbery of his three canoes—he has scarcely been able to save any of the goods. Others beside himself have also suffered by the robbery. It is easy to get the multitude started; but once started it is not easy to control it. He had, however, yesterday evening, acceded to the demands of the old men assembled at my house, not to go any further; but the drunkenness that ensued spoiled everything, and to what extent have I suffered! Ruffert, the dear brother, has been struck, and his life made to bleed; such, again, was not your expectation, but such is the case. Such is the sad occur-

* See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 164-5, for some notice of Lieut. Wm. Leslie.
L. C. D.

rence which has taken place last night, and today without reckoning what more may follow, for the drunken row is not yet over.

I remain none the less with attachment,

Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

P. DU JAUNAY.

I shall not be able to say mass on the 4th December.

In the order of time, here follows a letter, dated at Michilimackinac, Aug. 16, 1763, signed Cardin—perhaps Cardinal; but the whole of the body of the letter, thirty-two lines, is entirely illegible. It is addressed to “Monsieur Langlade, pere, a la Baye”—thus showing that the senior Langlade was residing at Green Bay at that period, a fact worthy of preservation.

MICHILIMACKINAC, July 19, 1775.

Permission is hereby given Mr. De Langlade to proceed from hence to La Baie upon his lawful business with two canoes, with merchandise, and navigated by nine men.

A. S. DE PEYSTER,

To all concerned.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 18th April, 1777.

SIR: This is the first moment we can avail of. If I had been able would have sent sooner, for I flatter myself that Capt. Langlade on his part will not fail to seize the first opportunity. Mr. Lamothe arrived here on the 11th of this month, and brings us very good news, that General Howe, near New York, has gained two battles lately, and it is hoped the Americans are very much depressed, and have made overtures of accommodation. However, Gen. Carlton has determined to join Gen. Howe, early in the spring at Albany, in order to give a decisive blow, and teach them the respect due their King. If these, my children, wish to be of the party, they must not stand on ceremony; but come at once to Mackinac. I pray you not to wait for a great number, for I believe we will have too many volunteers here.

I send you eighty pounds of tobacco, a sack of corn—ground, in order that the gentlemen may not compel their wives to grind it—two barrels of seo-ta-wa-bo (whisky), that they may not drive you wild. Besides, I send my best respects to Madame Langlade, and, beg her accept two kegs of brandy, one barrel of salt, a small barrel of rice, and twenty pounds of tobacco, if necessary. I also send for Madame, a sack of one hundred and twenty-three pounds of flour, as a present. These, Monsieur, are all the gifts I am able to send at present. It is necessary to await the boat. Tell Carron that I shake him by the hand, as I also do all my children at the Bay. Messrs. Airs and Lamothe desire you to send them by the Corporal, fifteen or sixteen packs, more or less, which the late Mr. Barcellon left with you for them, according to the account of Mr. Catte and Amable Roy. The Corporal will give you a receipt for those gentlemen.

I am, sir, with all consideration,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

A. S. DE PEYSTER.

To Capt. Langlade.

MICHILIMACKINAC, Aug. 27, 1778.

SIR—You will proceed tomorrow morning, as soon as it is daylight, with ten corves [baskets of supplies], which Mr. Lassey will procure for you, in a canoe to Round Island, and there use your endeavor to get ten Indians, in order to go on a scout.

JOHN MOMPASON,

Commander.

To Capt. Langlade, Jr., of the Indian Department.

(COPY.)

By the Honorable Patrick Sinclair, Esq., Captain in the 84th Regiment, Lieutenant Governor, Superintendent and Commander of the Post Michilimackinac and dependencies, etc., etc.*

* This Madame de Langlade was the widow of the elder, or Sieur Augustine de Langlade, who died about 1771, as represented in Grignon's "Recollections," in 3d Vol. of *Wis. Hist. Collections*; and she had probably been visiting or residing awhile with her relatives at Mackinaw. This was the view of her grandson, Augustin Grignon, in which Hon. M. L. Martin fully concurs. There is no reason to doubt its correctness.

Madame Langlade has permission to go to the Baye and repossess herself of her houses, gardens, farms and property; she may take a hired man with her.

Given under my hand and the Post seal, the 14th Sept., 1782.

PATRICK SINCLAIR,

Lieutenant Governor. [SEAL]

By order of the Governor.

JOHN COATES.

I hereby certify that the above is a true copy of a permission granted to Madame Langlade by his Excellency Lieut. Governor Patrick Sinclair, dated on the fourteenth day of September, A. D., one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.

Z. TAYLOR, *Major.*

Given at Fort Howard, Green Bay, this 20th of June, 1818.

It is enjoined upon merchants passing to the Bay not to give liquor to Indians.

PATRICK SINCLAIR.

[No date; but about 1781 or 1782.] *Lieutenant Governor.*

ISLE ST. JOSEPH, March 11, 1800.

MONSIEUR—It is with much pleasure that I learn from your letter of the 25th February,* that you have succeeded in arresting the quarrels among the savage nations who have been at war. I hope it will be the means of securing a general peace among them, and at the same time convince them of the attention and regard bestowed upon them by the Britannic Government.

* This proves that Charles de Langlade did not die quite so early as his grandson, Augustin Grignon, supposed—January, 1800. As he died after a short illness, and in cold weather, we may place it in March, 1800; and this letter of Lieut. Drummond was probably received after Mr. Langlade's death.

St. Joseph's Island is in St. Mary's River, near to Drummond's Island, at the mouth of that stream, where it flows into Lake Huron; and the latter island, long British headquarters for Indian affairs, very likely received its name from Lieut. Drummond.

I hope that you will continue your efforts in ensuring this peace, which is so much desired by the whole world.

I will take care to inform them at Quebec by the first opportunity of your success. The two Indians have received presents for their trouble and provisions, to take back with them for their nourishment. The savages will bring the gun you sent for.

Awaiting the pleasure of seeing you this spring, I am

Yr. very humble servant,

PETER DRUMMOND,

Commanding.

Capt. Langlade.

I certify that I have baptized a child of Mr. Grignon, named Bernard, at Green Bay, the 22d of June, 1806. Born the 12th of June, at 9 o'clock, A. M.

CHAS. REAUME,

Justice of the Peace.

An Incident of Chegoimegon, 1760^{*}

We have been permitted to extract the following from the journal of a gentleman who has seen a large portion of the country to the north and west of this place, and to whose industry our readers have been often indebted for information relating to the portion of country over which he has passed, and to transactions among the numerous tribes, within the limits of this territory, which tend to elucidate their characteristics, and lay open the workings of their untaught minds:

Monecauning (abbreviated for "Monegoinaic-cauning," the Woodpecker Island, in Chippewa language)—which is sometimes called Montreal Island, Cadott's Island, or Middle Island, and is one of "the Apostles" mentioned by Charlevoix. It is situated in Lake Superior, about ninety miles from Fond du Lac, at the extremity of La Pointe, or Point Chegoimegon.

On this island the French government had a fort, long previous to its surrender to the English, in 1763. It was garrisoned by regular soldiers, and was the most northern post at which the French king had troops stationed. It was never re-occupied by the English, who removed everything valuable to the Saut de St. Marie, and demolished the works. It is said to have been strongly fortified, and the remains of the works may yet be seen.

In the autumn of 1760, all of the traders except one, who traded from this post, left it for their wintering grounds. He who remained had with him his wife, who was a lady from Montreal, his child—a small boy, and one servant. During the winter, the servant, probably for the purpose of plunder, killed the trader and his wife; and a few days after their death, murdered the

* This paper was originally published in the *Detroit Gazette*, Aug. 30, 1822. Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, of Detroit, a resident of that place for sixty years, states that Mr. Schoolcraft, without doubt, contributed this sketch to the *Gazette*; that Mr. Schoolcraft, at the time of its publication, was residing at the Sault St. Marie; and Mr. Morrison, who was one of Mr. Astor's most trusted agents at "L'Anse Qui-wy-we-nong," came down to Mackinaw every summer, and thus gave Mr. Schoolcraft the information.

child. He continued at the fort until the spring. When the traders came, they enquired for the gentleman and his family; and were told by the servant, that in the month of March, they left him to go to their sugar camp, beyond the bay, since which time he had neither seen nor heard of them. The Indians, who were somewhat implicated by this statement, were not well satisfied with it, and determined to examine into its truth. They went out and searched for the family's tracks; but found none, and their suspicions of the murderer increased. They remained perfectly silent on the subject; and when the snow had melted away, and the frost left the ground, they took sharp stakes and examined around the fort by sticking them into the ground, until they found three soft spots a short distance from each other, and digging down they discovered the bodies.

The servant was immediately seized and sent off in an Indian canoe, for Montreal, for trial. When passing the *Longue Saut*, in the river St. Lawrence, the Indians who had him in charge, were told of the advance of the English upon Montreal, and that they could not in safety proceed to that place. They at once became a war party,—their prisoner was released, and he joined and fought with them. Having no success, and becoming tired of the war, they sought their own land—taking the murderer with them as one of their war party.

They had nearly reached the Saut de St. Marie, when they held a dance. During the dance, as is usual, each one “struck the post,” and told, in his manner, of his exploits. The murderer, in his turn, danced up to the post, and boasted that he had killed the trader and his family—relating all the circumstances attending the murder. The chief heard him in silence, saving the usual *grunt*, responsive to the speaker. The evening passed away, and nothing further occurred.

The next day the chief called his young men aside, and said to them: “Did you not hear this man’s speech last night? He now says that he did the murder with which we charged him. He ought not to have boasted of it. We boast of having killed our *enemies*—never our *friends*. Now he is going back to the place where he committed the act, and where we live—perhaps he

will again murder. He is a bad man—neither we nor our friends are safe. If you are of my mind, we will strike this man on the head.” They all declared themselves of his opinion, and determined that justice should be rendered him speedily and effectually.

They continued encamped, and made a feast, to which the murderer was invited to partake. They filled his dish with an extravagant quantity, and when he commenced his meal, the chief informed him, in a few words, of the decree in council, and that as soon as he had finished his meal, either by eating the whole his dish contained, or as much as he could, the execution was to take place. The murderer, now becoming sensible of his perilous situation, from the appearance of things around him, availed himself of the terms of the sentence he had just heard pronounced, and did ample justice to the viands. He continued, much to the discomfiture of the “phiz.” of justice (personified by the chief, who all the while sat smoking through his nose), eating and drinking until he had sat as long as a modern alderman at a corporation dinner. But it was of no avail—when he ceased eating he ceased breathing.

The chief cut up the body of the murderer, and boiled it for another feast—but his young men would touch none of it—they said, “he was not worthy to be eaten—he was worse than a bad dog. We will not taste him, for if we do, we shall be worse than dogs ourselves.”

Mr. Morrison, who gave me the above relation, told me he had it from a very old Indian, who was present at the death of the murderer.

Capture of Mackinaw, 1763

By Louis B. Porlier*

On the 14th of October, 1848, Hon. William Medill, commissioner of Indian affairs, called a council at Poygan, Wisconsin, to negotiate a treaty with the Menomonee tribe of Indians. H. S. Baird was appointed secretary to the commissioner. On the morning of the day of the meeting, Oshkosh came to our tent and said to Augustin Grignon, Sr., "I have been notified to attend the council; will you go with me?" Mr. Grignon replied that he would, and they both started towards the council-house. Immediately after I told Augustin Grignon, Jr., to call our men to put up our shanty so as to be in readiness for the annuity payment, which was to take place immediately after the treaty should be concluded. As soon as the shanty was up so they could get along without me, I told the younger Grignon that I was going over to listen to the council, and started towards the council-house.

Just before reaching the place of assembly, I saw Shononee, or Silver—one of the principal Menomonee chiefs, coming out of the council-house, and walking towards a group of Indians who were gathered at a short distance away. I followed him thither, as I knew that he would relate what had been said in the council. He seated himself on a log and they all thronged close around him, anxious to ascertain what was the business of the commissioner.

* This paper is an advanced portion of a work for which Mr. Porlier has long been collecting materials, relative to Indian traditions, history, and prominent chiefs, Indian trade and traders, French and American settlers, and sketches generally of the Fox River Valley, from the earliest settlement of the country. As Mr. Porlier's father, the late Judge James Porlier, settled in the country in 1791, and the son has lived a long and observing life of sixty-four years in the Valley, much engaged among the Indians, and in the Indian trade, and connected with the Grignon and other early pioneer families, he is well fitted to prepare a work of interest and value, which would doubtless meet with a cordial reception by the people of that prosperous portion of Wisconsin.

In a laughing manner he replied: "You don't expect he has come to decorate your ears with silver ear-bobs? No, he comes here simply to get the balance of our country! Not being satisfied with what he has already obtained, he proposes to remove us across the Mississippi, which country he represents to be far better than ours; he says there is an abundance of all kinds of game there; that the lakes and the rivers are full of fish and wild rice." Several of those who were listening, here interrupted the speaker with evident anxiety, saying, "Why don't he go himself and live in such a fine country, where there is an abundance of everything? He is mistaken! and you ought to have told him at once not to say any more about it." Shononee replied: "That is what we did; but you know how the Kechemocoman (or the Great Knife, as they name the American) never gets rebuked at a refusal; but will persist, and try over and over again till he accomplishes his purpose. I left our chief Oshkosh to debate with him, and I will not adhere to any proposition he may make."

Shononee then made running remarks about different tribes of Indians who had been removed from their country to distant lands, referring especially to the Winnebagoes and the Pottowattamies; and in winding up his remarks, said: "We know by those who have come back from the country whither they have been removed, to what dangers they are exposed;" and, after a pause, he added: "It is but the result of what Pontiac had foreseen and foretold." The by-standers inquired who Pontiac was, and what he had foreseen. Shononee then resumed by saying: "Pontiac lived before my time; but I will simply state to you what my ancestors have related to me in regard to him. He was, they told me, a noble-minded Indian; he had come to Milwaukee at one time,* and then and there had assembled different tribes of Indians, and addressed them as follows:

"My Friends! I have come here to consult you in behalf of our common cause. When the white man came across the ocean,

* See Grignon's "Recollections," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, 226, for some reference to this grand Milwaukee assemblage early in 1763. Shononee's tradition shows that Pontiac was its master-spirit, and probably his influence and eloquence so alienated those Indians from the English, that Col. De Peyster, sixteen years thereafter, denominated them as "those renegates of Milwaukee—a horrid set of refractory Indians."

and landed on our shores, he spoke with a sweet and silver-tongued mouth, saying that we had large possessions of land, and that he had none, and asked to be permitted to settle in a corner, and live with us like brothers. We received and admitted them as such; and they lived true to their proposition and promise, until they had gained strength. They then commenced to encroach upon us more and more. Their purpose is plain to me—that they will continue to encroach upon us, until they discover that they have sufficient power to remove us from our country to a distant land, where we will be confronted with all kinds of danger, and perhaps be annihilated. The time is not far distant when we shall be placed in a critical position. It is now in our power to force the whites back to their original settlements. We must *all join in one common cause*, and sweep the white men from our country, and then we shall live happy, and we shall have nothing more to do with the hated race. We shall have no unsatisfied desires, as we have an abundance of game in our forests—our rivers and lakes are teeming with all kinds of fish, fowl and wild rice—we shall live as did our forefathers; we shall with our furs and skins obtain all necessary supplies, and—be happy.”

The inquiry was then made, what answer did Pontiac receive from the assembled nations. “Well,” said Shononee, “with the exception of the Menomonees, they all joined with him, and placed themselves in readiness to take the war-path at the first warning. Mackinaw was the first point to be attacked; and after its capture, messengers were to be sent eastward, and the successive attacks would have been like a large prairie set on fire, with a strong wind spreading the flames in every direction, making the whole one solid mass of fire, destroying everything before it as it rushes along! And this would have been the result; but you are familiar with our customs in regard to incantations. The spirit that gave the power to the war-chief, required of him to make a sacrifice of the officers captured at Mackinaw, before taking any further step. The Chippewa war-chief* succeeded in capturing

* See vol. vii., *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, pp. 188-94, for evidence that Matchekewis was the Chippewa chief who captured Mackinaw in 1763. L. C. D.

the post of Mackinaw; but before he could make the sacrifice, *the Bravest of the Brave* came and snatched the officers out of his hands—and the war-chief squatted down, foiled in his purpose.” It was then asked, who was this *Bravest of the Brave*?—and why did the war-chief not stand his ground, and prevent him from rescuing the officers? “The Bravest of the Brave,” said Shononee, “was Aukewingeketawso, or Defender of his Country—Charles Langlade, the grandfather of Augustin Grignon—and he was too well known all over the western world for any one to dare oppose him.”

The Poygan Council continued day after day. On the morning of the fourth day, H. S. Baird saddled his horse, and, as soon as he had had his breakfast, started for Green Bay as angry as he well could be, having lost all hopes that the treaty could be made. The vacancy of secretary was filled by the appointment of Morgan L. Martin; and, when the council was adjourned at the close of the day, Mr. Martin came to our tent and said: “Mr. Portier, I wish you would tell Mr. Grignon that he had better advise the chiefs to make a treaty while they have an opportunity. They ought to make the most advantageous one they can; for if they should persist in refusing to treat, the president can at his pleasure order their removal, without giving them another chance to make a treaty, and then it would be optional with him whether to give them anything or nothing, because it is provided in the existing treaty, that whenever the president should want their lands, they should relinquish their title—they only possessing such lands as hunting grounds. The president has now sent a commissioner to make a treaty, and they ought to embrace the opportunity to make the most favorable one they can; it is a matter of course that the commissioner cannot give beyond his instructions, but he can give to the utmost limit.”

I told Mr. Grignon what Mr. Martin had advised. “Well,” said Mr. Grignon, “tell Mr. Martin I will attend to it.” Then Mr. Martin told me to go and see Oshkosh, and to tell him that he wanted to see him on business, and further requested me at the same time to go and see the chiefs of the Shawano band, and state to them what Mr. Martin had said. I went on my mission,

and after having given a full statement of Mr. Martin's views and advice, to the Shawano band, I suggested that they should call on the rest of the chiefs and have a consultation on the subject, and to do their best to promote the welfare of their nation, and to be prepared to meet the commissioner in council the next day. They accordingly met in council with the commissioner, and in the course of the day the treaty was concluded.

Green Bay and the Frontier, 1763-65

The following letters, written by Edmond Moran and Lieut. James Gorrell, the former of whom was a trader at Green Bay, when the latter abandoned the fort at that place, in June, 1763; together with a brief letter from John Clark, at Cumberland, Maryland, all relating to the frontier trade and difficulties of that period, and never before published.

Moran's first letter, written at Green Bay, is so faded towards its close, that it is impossible to decipher or restore some portions of it; but the sense is probably fairly conveyed by the aid of words in brackets.

These old documents were long preserved by the Shelby family, in Kentucky—Capt. Evan Shelby referred to, having been the father of Gov. Isaac Shelby; and though they impart no important or detailed facts, yet as they relate to an interesting period of Wisconsin and frontier history, concerning which documents and reliable information are scarce, it is deemed advisable to publish them entire.

It is possible that the trader, Edmond Moran, may have descended from Capt. Moran, or Marin, the early commandant at Green Bay, who so distinguished himself against the Sauks and Foxes in 1730. But this is only suppositious. He was furnished with goods by the large mercantile establishment of Capt. Evan Shelby and Capt. Samuel Postlethwaite, of Frederick County, Maryland, who were largely engaged in supplying goods for the Indian trade. It is natural to suppose, that Moran, having some knowledge of Green Bay, proposed to take a stock of goods there as a promising trading point; and this design was carried into effect apparently in the early part of 1762. It must have been a very respectable stock, amounting after a year's sales to £1,440, Pennsylvania currency—between six and seven thousand dollars in value; and among the sales, as shown by Gorrell's Journal, published in the Society's first volume of *Collections*, were goods amounting to £935, 12s, 2d, sold to Lieut. Gorrell for presents to the Indians.

The very day, June 15th, 1763, that Mr. Moran was to have started from the Bay to Detroit, bearing dispatches from Lieut. Gorrell to Major Gladwyn, intelligence was received from Capt. Ethrington of the capture of Mackinaw, and directing the abandonment of Fort Edward Augustus; when all his unsold goods were seized and appropriated by the Indians, Moran and the other traders then retired with Gorrell's party first to Mackinaw, and then down the Lakes.

It would seem probable, as a portion of the goods lost by Shelby & Postlethwaite on the Monongahela, by the Indian outbreak of 1763, was re-imbursed by the British Government, thus tacitly acknowledging the justice of the claim, that the loss at Green Bay was also subsequently made good. We

hear nothing further of Moran after the date of his Carlisle letter of August 31, 1765.

Lieut. Gorrell was a Marylander, and had served in the Sixtieth or Royal American regiment during the latter part of the old French and Indian War, on the borders of New York, and in the conquest of Canada, having entered the regiment as an ensign, May 30th, 1759. He was sent with a small force to establish a garrison at Green Bay, in October, 1761; was promoted to a lieutenancy, March 2, 1762. After abandoning Green Bay, by order of Capt. Ethrington, in June, 1763, he retired to Montreal, where he arrived in August following.

On the reduction of the army, at the close of the war, Lieut. Gorrell was placed on half pay, till he was assigned as a Lieutenant to the Seventieth regiment of foot, March 18th, 1767, stationed at the Caribbee Islands, in the West Indies, where he probably died in 1769, as his name last appears in the *British Army List* in that year, without transference, or replacement on the half-pay list.

L. C. D.

FORT EDWARD AUGUSTUS, or LA BAYE, May 14, 1763.

DEAR SIRs:—If you have received every letter I wrote you last year which I believe you have, as I always sent them by good opportunities, you will before this know what I then thought would answer in the trading way for these posts—which scheme I hope has so far met with your approbation, that before this can come to hand, and before you will be at Detroit; at which place I hope to meet you about the last of June. The goods you bring, if there is not a good market at Detroit for them, keep them until I come; but by no means let your assortment be broken as you may be assured this place will afford good sale for them.* I have sent most of my goods to a gentleman whom I fell in with, one Lewis Constant, at Detroit, on the out limits of Canada. They are expected here the last of this month, when I shall get off.

I have done everything in my power for the best, and am in hopes it will turn out well; as yet I have a good prospect of its so doing.

Lieut. Jas. Gorrell commands here, who has used me exceed-

* Fort Edward Augustus, sometimes called Bay des Puans, is a very good post for trade. * * * La Baye Verte [Green Bay] will have a great trade with the Sakis, Puants, Foxes, and Indians west of Lake Michigan.—SIR WM. JOHNSON, Oct. 8, 1764, in *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, vii, 658, 661.

ingly kind ever since I have been with him, for which reason if you arrive at Detroit before me, and can in any way send him a ten gallon bag of spirits, I will pay for it myself. You may remember you desired me to engage goods to sell to the French, wholesale.

I wrote you from Michilimackinac last fall, respecting my having engaged between two and three thousand pounds' worth to be delivered at Detroit. The men will have the pay ready, I understand; and they depend on the bargain [i. e. rely on its fulfillment]. I am in hopes I shall not be disappointed in it. The proposal of bringing cattle, I am assured, would be very advantageous, otherwise I would not so earnestly recommend it to you.

I am very much surprised that I have never heard a word from one of you since I left home. It gives me no small uneasiness, for many reasons, you very well know.

I would inform you, however, that I hourly expect to hear from you now, as Lieut. Gorrell expects news from Detroit very soon. [They go] from here to Michilimackinac by Indian [canoes]; but it's not safe going over the waves [in such small craft], as many [accidents occur]. There has been no opportunity before this year; but [whether] any offers by [sail is a] question. I intend going as soon as Mr. Lottridge* and Jimmy Daugherty arrive, which is expected soon.

Enclosed is a letter to my wife, and one to Mr. Clallen, which I would be obliged to you [to deliver to them]. The Indians seem well inclined if [it were not] for those d—d Canadians; they [appear to be as well] attached to the English [as any we] have ever yet had. Pray [give] my compliments to your families and all friends. I hope in everything I act to meet your approbation, as it is my wish [to do].

Dear Gentlemen, your much obliged and very humble servant.

EDMOND MORAN.

* Gorrell's Journal, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, 1, 37, 45, shows that Lottridge was an Indian trader, who had been engaged in trading up Fox River during the preceding winter and spring. When Gorrell abandoned the post at Green Bay, and on his arrival with his garrison and the Wisconsin traders at Mackinaw, "the Indians belonging to the Isle Castor took one Mr. Lottridge and Mr. Croghan; the former was taken from them by a chief of the Sacs, to whom he gave considerable presents; but the latter was obliged to buy himself clear."

Ye 15th—This morning this Dennis Croghan* arrived here from the Sauk country with no news. He has been there all winter, and has seventy packs of beaver with him; each weighing thirty pounds, French weight. Pray let me hear from you. This country affords abundance of peltry.

E. MORAN.

For Messrs. Shelby & Postlethwaite.

EVAN SHELBY & Co's account of losses in the Indian trade, in the year 1763, Penn. currency:

1763. Dr. To the amount of goods taken at Fort Edward Augustus, at La Baye, by the Indians.....	£1440	00	00
June 3.—To goods lost and destroyed by the Indians near Ft. Burd, on the Monongahela River, as per invoice	420	17	4
	£1860	17	4
To 8 Horses taken by the Indians at £10 per horse..	80	00	05
	£1940	17	4
Cr. Received in part of the loss at the Monongahela	89	8	0
The balance remaining is.....	£1851	9	4

CUMBERLAND, JULY 1, 4 o'clock, 1763.

DEAR GENTLEMEN.—This moment arrived here an express from Pitt, and brings us the following account: That all the back forts are taken, and all the traders, officers and soldiers put to death in the most cruel manner. They burned down every place so soon as they take it. They were five days putting Lieut. Gordon to death at Venango. Pitt is constantly invested, and two thousand Indians more expected every day for to help fifteen hundred that is now against it. Two men were killed in sight of

* Dennis Croghan was probably a brother of Col. George Croghan, long Sir Wm. Johnson's sub-Indian agent, and a native of Ireland. He was one of Col. John Parker's detachment of New Jersey troops, who were attacked and defeated in July, 1757, at Sabbath Day Point, on Lake George; and Croghan was among the missing, probably taken among the prisoners to Canada. The next we hear of him is what we learn from Mr. Moran's letter and Gorrell's Journal, that he was trading in the country of the Sauks, probably on the Wisconsin River, during the winter of 1762-63, and was captured at Mackinaw, in July, 1763, but succeeded in purchasing his release. In 1775, we find him a lumber merchant at Southwark, Philadelphia, where he left his family on a visit to Ireland, on private business, and was detained in consequence of the war; but as it was made to appear that he was a friend of the cause of America, his estate in July, 1779, was exempted from forfeiture. This is all we are able to learn of this early Wisconsin trader.

it the other day, and one wounded in the fort. The express tracked the Indians all the way from the Laurel Hill to within ten miles of this place. I hope we will be able to keep this post, though God knows.

They write that no less than twelve hundred men would be sufficient to escort provisions to Pitt; so you may consider what condition they are in there. They have war ships against Detroit, and have been against it these five weeks with fifteen hundred Indians. The French will not help the English there.

I shall open the goods in the manner you direct. A hoghead or two of rum would sell very well here; sugar, tea and coffee, coarse and fine linen, and trimmings of all sorts, would sell well here likewise. If you think of carrying on the trade at this place, you can judge what will suit the camp and country yourselves—shoes and stockings, without fail.

I am so confused—as are all the men here—I cannot write. The provisions were all taken from Lieut. Coulier;* and eight hundred barrels since then are taken at Little Niagara.

Remember me to all friends.

I am, gentlemen, your most humble servant,

JOHN CLARK.

N. B.—I have not yet got a house for the goods. If you think the goods are not safe here, as dangers soon will be, [give the necessary directions].

To Capts. Shelby and Postlethwaite.

TUSCAROWA, AT CAMP No. 13, Oct. 21, 1764.

DEAR SIR:—Yesterday evening we arrived here. We were kindly received by Col. Bouquet, who was holding a conference with the Indians, of whom there is a tolerable number, and some of them are the d—st rascals that now live. The speech the Colonel made co-operated with their character. I believe a peace will ensue; if so, we must return without scalps; but if a peace, we may be assured it will be much to our advantage, etc. I wrote you from Fort Pitt, that I intended coming here in consequence of

* Lieut. Cuyler's defeat, near Detroit. See Parkman's *Pontiac*, i, 265-68.

Col. Gladwyn's not being yet gone to New York. He is now with Col. Bradstreet, not above eighty miles from here. I could wish Lieut. Gorrell was here, then we might go to him and have our business settled at once. I hired nine horses to Mr. Elliott, who is to return them at Fort Pitt. I have ordered them to be sent home. I left the greatest part of our goods with Mr. Spears' clerk at Fort Pitt. Two small loads of goods, with one of tobacco, I have here, and shall sell them. I believe we shall sell all our goods this fall to good advantage. I shall go twenty-five miles further, then will return; if Captain Postlethwaite should come up, he may proceed. Mr. John Gibson is here, given up to us by the Indians, with many other prisoners.

The Indians are d—mnably scared, which you may believe on their seeing such an army in their country. I believe I shall see Col. Gladwyn before I return, and before I go home. At every opportunity I shall write you. Tomorrow we shall march with all the army. All the gentlemen send their compliments to you. My best respects to Mrs. Shelby and all friends, and believe me to be, with the utmost sincerity and kind regards, dear sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

EDMOND MORAN.

N. B.—Please keep my horse until I come in, and take care of him with your own.

Capt. Evan Shelby, Frederick county, Md.

NEW YORK, May the 27th, 1765.

DEAR SHELBY.—I have the pleasure to assure you that I have got all the King's accounts passed, and the cash is now in the General's hands, who will pay it on the certificates, which you know are in the widow Devisme's hands. As Mr. Moran lodged them with her brother Stillwell in pledge of the sum which he borrowed of him, as well as the sum due to her by Stidman and Tayler, the whole not amounting to four hundred pounds, York currency, and as she is threatened by Stephen West, I was obliged to enter a protest against the cash being paid on these certificates, which the General approves of. Therefore as I believe West is

set off from this in order to get a later power of attorney than mine, you will set off as fast as possible the nearest way to this place; and you'll not only miss West, but also by my giving you other certificates, as they have not lawfully a right to receive the cash by them without a power of attorney, and you know there are other things which will answer. I have been advised to this by the lawyers and others of my friends.

You may come in the night from Dugles' [Douglas?] ferry to me at William Tayler's, who lives now at Crinling [?] wharf, known by the name of Peek slip. It is the best and remotest place in town, where I shall be glad to see you as soon as possible. As the post is just going, you'll excuse haste. If you had Mr. Postlethwaite with you, it would be so much the better, or at least have his approbation, as well as Mr. Moran's, in writing, and all will be well. Compliments to all friends, in particular to Mrs. Shelby. Don't fail in making all the haste possible. As we shall not let above two or three friends know anything about the matter until all is finished, which will be done in two hours' time after your arrival here, and then I hope to have the pleasure of riding home with you. Which is all from your sincere friend and well wisher,

JAS. GORRELL.

Capt. Evan Shelby, Frederick county, Md.

LIEUTENANT JAMES GORRELL, TO JOHN MORIN SCOTT, DR.			
To two different written opinions relating to the certificates of Moran and Company at 40 shillings each....	£ 4	0	0
Perusing and amending a letter of substitution to Major Moncrief	£ 1	9	0
Dr. Protest		19	9
Perusing the bonds to be executed by Messrs Gorrell and Stearnsdal for indemnifying Mr. Stillwell and Mrs. Devisme	£ 1	9	0
Attending and advising on incidental matters relating to the settlement of this affair, including two different conferences with Mr. Smith, and Mrs. Devisme's council, in all 18 attendances at 10 shillings each.....	£ 9	0	0
	£16	17	9
A fee on Mrs. Gorrell's first application to me.....	£ 1	12	6
	£18	10	3
	=====		

New York, July 12, 1765, received of Mr. James Gorrell, eighteen pounds, ten shillings and three pence in full for the above bill.

JOHN MORIN SCOTT.

New York, 12th July, 1765, received of Lt. James Gorrell two pounds, ten shillings, for my trouble in receiving the money of General Gage.

JONA. HOLMES.

New York, 15th July, 1765. Some time ago, I think in April last, Mr. Gorrell took my opinion relating to certain certificates to the General, and paid me for it, I think forty shillings.

WM. SMITH, JR.

CARLISLE, 31st August, 1765.

DEAR SIR—I am favored with yours of the 27th inst., which, as I am at present very much hurried, on account of the bearer, I shall answer briefly. I am much surprised to hear that Mr. Stephen West should not have received that money, as Crohon [Croghan] told me he had; it is most certain that the money has come in to be paid. As for Lottridge's bond, I do assure you that I am very sensible we don't owe him anything; but on the contrary, always imagined he was in our debt; and if I had time, would send you his account, and a paper from under his hand to oblige him to settle whatever amount should happen to be proved by me against that bond. The first opportunity I have, whichever day offers, I will send you the accounts, and the paper or obligation I have from under his hand. The other account you make mention of, is one Wm. Bruce's. It was in his custody I left them goods you heard me make mention of, at La Baye, the amount of which was far above his account against us; and I am lately credibly informed that he arrived safe at Detroit with the proceeds of them, which must, as I always allowed it, over pay him, so that I don't regard what West can do in that affair, and can assure you I cannot charge myself with anything faulty, in any sense, toward you, since I commenced company with you, but in not giving you a particular detail of everything, when I came in. However, in my next, when I send you Lottridge's accounts, which you shall have against Wednesday or Thursday next, I flatter myself you will acquiesce with me in it. I am well satisfied to give you all my lands, warrants, etc., as nothing could

render me more satisfaction than to see you satisfied; but would not allow that West should have them, neither have I the warrants here to assign you—my wife is not yet come home. I am very sorry that it did not suit you to answer my request; as I know full well when Ward and Crohon [Croghan] find that nothing will be done here for me, they will immediately fall upon you in Maryland (for which I should be exceedingly sorry), as would they all, knowing you are equally liable. All they do to me, is to keep me here, which I expect they will, perhaps as long as I live; and if that would satisfy them, I would willingly resign to it, though my fate will be (as it is very nigh now) to live upon bread and water. I shall enclose you an account of my sales to the northward, and which I expect will be satisfactory, and inform you who we are indebted to. I am, as I before mentioned, ready to comply with your request of the land, and shall write you more fully about it in my next. Please let me know what Capt. Postlethwaite has done in regard to the re-survey on Janes' Run. I have opportunity almost every day to write to you, and shall embrace the first that offers, in which I will enclose the papers you request, and those I mentioned above, which may perhaps be the last you will receive from me (as I am almost tired of writing,) while I am here.

I am with the utmost respect,

Your ever devoted, humble servant,

EDMOND MORAN.

If it would suit, do let West know what I say in regard to those debts he has industriously brought against me. I will write to him the first opportunity.

Capt. Shelby.

The Indian Wars of Wisconsin

By Moses M. Strong

The law of destiny demands that the aboriginal Mongolian inhabitants of the cultivable portions of the North American continent, should give place to the advancing civilization of the Caucasian race.

The demonstration of this proposition does not require a resort to any ethnological theories, nor the application of the principles of natural selection, or the survival of the fittest. The history of the occupation and settlement of this portion of the globe by the white man during the last three or four centuries, and of the Indian wars incidental to the substitution of the ideas and modes of the white man for those of the red man, abundantly attest its truth. If it were otherwise, the desire on the present occasion to present historical facts rather than maintain theories, forbids any metaphysical investigation of the remote causes which have resulted in supplanting savagism with civilization.

It is not the design of this paper to present anything novel or original; but only to collect from the scattered authorities where they are to be found, and present the authentic contemporaneous accounts of the Indian wars which have occurred upon the soil of Wisconsin, from its earliest occupancy to the present time, embracing their causes, casualties and consequences.

Indian wars, with their attendant horrors and savage atrocities, have ever been concomitants of the primitive permanent settlement of every part of the United States, from those which followed the settlement at Jamestown and Plymouth, to the late wars with the Sioux and Nez Perces in Dakota, Wyoming and Montana—with, perhaps, the single exception of the Quaker settlements in Pennsylvania.

When and by whom the very earliest visitations of white men

were made to Wisconsin, is involved in some doubt. It may have been by Nicolet in 1634; but it is well authenticated that fur-traders were temporarily at Green Bay as early as 1654 to 1659; and that in 1665 a Roman Catholic priest established a mission at Chegoimegon. But there is no authentic account of any permanent settlement within the State until the founding of the mission of St. Francis Xavier at Des Pères in 1669, and the establishment, two years later, of the fortified post at Green Bay, called St. Francis.

The white inhabitants gradually, but very slowly, increased during the next fifty years; but as all who were not engaged in missionary labor were connected with the fur-trade, and furnished the Indians in exchange for their furs and peltries with such articles as contributed to the gratification of their tastes and to their success in hunting, fishing and trapping, the missionaries and traders were permitted to remain without molestation.

But at length this tranquillity was to be disturbed. In 1712 the Outagamies or Foxes attempted the destruction of the post of Detroit. They were repulsed and compelled to surrender at discretion. These reverses, and the desperate fight which ensued near Lake St. Clair, materially affected their ability to annoy the French, and to war with their savage enemies; but yet added fresh and implacable inspiration to the savage spirit of hate and revenge, which prompted them to resort to another locality for its gratification.

They collected their dispersed bands on the Fox River, where they robbed and butchered all travelers on this great highway of nature from the lakes to the Mississippi. The Sauks were their old and natural allies, and the Sioux were induced to openly join them, while many of the Iroquois were allied to them clandestinely. Indeed the danger of a general alliance among the savages against the whites appeared threatening.

This threatened danger induced the French governor of Canada, whose dominion and protection then extended over the whole valley of the Mississippi and the Great Lakes, to propose a union of the friendly tribes with the French, in a war of extermination against the common enemy, to which these tribes readily

consented. A party of French was raised, and the command of the expedition was wisely confided to the brave, energetic and discreet De Louvigny, the king's lieutenant at Quebec.

De Louvigny and his command left Quebec on the 14th March, 1716, and was joined on his route by a number of savages, so that his force amounted to eight hundred men, resolved upon the total destruction of the Fox nation. He returned to Quebec on the 12th of October, and the next day gave to the council the following account of his expedition:

“After three days of open trenches, sustained by a continuous fire of fusileers with two pieces of cannon and a grenade mortar, they were reduced to ask for peace, notwithstanding they had five hundred warriors in the fort who fired briskly, and more than three thousand women; they also expected shortly a reinforcement of three hundred men. But the promptitude with which the officers, who were in this action, pushed forward the trenches that I had opened at only seventy yards from their fort, made the enemy fear the third night that they would be taken. As I was only twenty-four yards from their fort, my design was to reach the triple oak sticks by a ditch of a foot and a half in the rear. Perceiving very well that my balls had not the effect I anticipated, I decided to take the place at the first onset, and to explode two mines under their curtains. The boxes being properly placed for the purpose, I did not listen to the enemy's first proposition; but they having made a second one, I submitted it to my allies who consented to it on the following conditions: That the Foxes and their allies would make peace, with all the Indians who are submissive to the King, and with whom the French are engaged in trade and commerce, and that they would return to me all the French prisoners that they have, and those captured during the war from our allies. This was complied with immediately. That they would take slaves from distant natives and deliver them to our allies, to replace their dead; that they should hunt to pay the expenses of this war, and as a surety of the keeping of their word, they should deliver me six chiefs or children of chiefs, to take with me to M. La Marquis De Vaudreuil as hostages, until the entire execution of our treaty, which

they did, and I took them with me to Quebec. Besides I have re-united the other nations, at variance among themselves, and have left that country enjoying universal peace."

The scene of De Louvigny's engagement was at the Little Butte des Morts, some thirty-seven miles above Green Bay.

The Foxes—whom Baneroff characterizes as "a nation passionate and untamable, springing up into new life from every defeat, and though reduced in the number of their warriors, yet present everywhere, by their ferocious enterprise and savage daring"—failed to send deputies to the governor general. He flattered himself for a long time that they would keep their plighted faith; but he was only taught by the renewal of hostilities that an enemy driven to a certain point is always irreconcilable. During the twelve years that followed De Louvigny's expedition, all the peaceable efforts of the French to restrain the hostile conduct of the Foxes were unavailing.

In 1728, the governor of Canada sent a force of four hundred French troops, and eight or nine hundred Indians, principally Iroquois, Hurons, Nepissings, and Ottawas, under the command of *Sieur* Marchand De Lignery, who it is probable had served under De Louvigny in his expedition against the Foxes in 1716, and who was now commissioned to go and destroy the Fox nation.

De Lignery had previously, on the 7th June, 1726, held a council at Green Bay, with the Foxes, Sauks, and Winnebagoes in presence of *Monsieurs* D'Amariton, Cligancourt, and *Rev.* Father Chardon, in which the chiefs of the three nations all gave their words that they would maintain peace. But these treacherous and lying savages paid no regard to their plighted faith, and continued their robberies and butcheries as they had done before.

The troops commanded by De Lignery commenced their march on the 5th of June, 1728; and taking the route of the Ottawa River and Lakes Nipissing and Huron, arrived at the fort at the mouth of Fox River on the night of the 17th August. Father Crespel, who accompanied the expedition as almoner of the four hundred Frenchmen, and who wrote an account of it, says: "Notwithstanding the precautions that had been taken to conceal our arrival, the savages had received information of it, and all

had escaped with the exception of four. These were presented to our savages who, after having diverted themselves with them, shot them to death with their arrows."

The expedition continued up the Fox River as far as the portage of the Wisconsin; but none of the enemy could be found except two women, a girl and an old man, who were killed and burned by the savages. De Lignery learned that the Foxes had fled four days before; that the old men, women and children had embarked in canoes, and the warriors had gone by land. He urged his Indian allies to follow in pursuit; but only a portion would consent, the others saying the enemy had gone so far that any attempt to catch up with them would be useless.

The French had nothing but Indian corn to eat, the season was far advanced, and they had a distance of four hundred leagues to return, so that the safety of half the army was endangered by further pursuit. It was, therefore, decided to burn the Fox villages, their forts and huts, and destroy all that could be found in their fields—corn, peas, beans and gourds, of which they had an abundance. Messrs. Beauharnois and De Argemait, from whose letter to the French minister of war of Sept. 1, 1728, the foregoing facts are taken, add: "It is certain that half of these natives, who number four thousand souls, will die with hunger, and that they will come in and ask mercy."

Subsequently, probably in the autumn of 1729, a party of over two hundred Indians—Ottawas, Chippewas, Menomonees, and Winnebagoes—fell on a party of the Foxes consisting of eighty men, and three hundred women and children, who were returning from a buffalo hunt. The party was surprised, and all of the men except three, and all the women and children, were killed and burned, and twenty flatboats were destroyed.

The Sieur Perriere Marin was a native of France of decided and energetic character, and was a prominent trader among the Sauks, and the Indians on the Mississippi. He had a place of deposit for goods and peltries on the left bank of the Mississippi, a short distance below the mouth of the Wisconsin, near what is now called Wyalusing, then called Fort Marin, and another near Mackinaw known by the same designation. Between these two

places, Marin found it necessary to conduct an extensive traffic on the highways of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers; and his boats heavily laden with valuable cargoes were obliged often times to pass the village and fort of the Foxes on the bank of the Fox River at the Little Butte des Morts, and as often to submit to the forced exactions of the Foxes, in the form of tribute.

These repeated piratical levies determined Marin to drive the marauding savages from their position. The traditional and other accounts of his valiant exploits leave some doubt about the exact date of his first attack, but it was probably as early in the year 1730 as the breaking up of the ice would admit of the passage of boats up the river.

Marin raised a volunteer force at Mackinaw, which was increased at Green Bay by the friendly Indians. All were embarked in boats, each having a full complement of men well armed, and an oil-cloth or tarpaulin large enough to cover the whole boat and conceal the men, such as was generally used to protect traders' goods from the effects of the weather. Near the Grand Chute, some three miles below, but not within view of the Little Butte des Morts, the party was divided, one portion going by land to the rear of the village to aid and support the attack, which was to be made in front by the others from the boats. The men in the boats, with their guns ready for use, were concealed by the coverings, and only two men to row each boat were in view, thus presenting the appearance of a trader's fleet.

When the Foxes discovered the approach of the boats, they placed out their torch, and posted themselves thickly along the bank, and awaited the landing of the boats and the payment of the customary exactions.

The boats having approached near enough for an effective attack, the tarpaulins were suddenly thrown off, and a deadly volley from the musketry of the soldiers, and the discharge from a swivel gun loaded with grape and canister shot, scattered death and dismay among the unsuspecting savages, to whom the number of their enemies seemed treble the reality. They fled precipitately to their village to prepare for defense, pursued by the troops. Here another horror confronted them. A Menomonee

warrior had stealthily entered the village and set on fire the frail bark dwellings on the windward side, which were soon wrapped in a sheet of flame. The Foxes in vain sought safety in the forest; but were met by the party which had flanked their retreat, and they found themselves placed between two hostile fires. Then burst forth one heart-rending, agonized shriek, and the devoted band of free-booting Indians prepared to defend themselves with a courage born of despair. Ball and bayonet now began their bloody work, and the tomahawk and scalping knife were active participants in the terrible work of death. No quarter was asked, and none was given. The time occupied by this bloody tragedy was not long; but in its strategy, surprise and sanguinary execution it probably has no parallel in the annals of Indian warfare. Most of the Foxes were killed or taken prisoners, but a few escaped up the river, and others were absent at the time of the engagement.

The same season the remnant of this savage tribe having been driven from their village at the Little Butte des Morts, took post about three miles above the Great Butte des Morts, on the southern or opposite side of the river.

In May of the same year, Du Buisson, who commanded at Mackinaw, left that post with six hundred men, among whom were fifty Frenchmen, to complete the extermination of the Foxes, so effectually commenced two months before. Marin went with him. The only account of this expedition which is known to exist is the traditionary one that a severe battle took place at the Great Butte des Morts, and many Foxes were killed, though not so many as at the Little Butte des Morts, and that they were again forced to fly.

From a more authentic account, it appears that in September, 1730, an attack was made on the Foxes by a force under the command of Sieur De Villiers, consisting of twelve or thirteen hundred men, including Indians, which resulted in the almost total defeat of the Foxes. Two hundred of their warriors were killed, or burned, after being taken as slaves, and six hundred women and children were destroyed.

The surviving Foxes located themselves on the northern bank

of the Wisconsin River, about twenty miles above its mouth, and probably not far from the present village of Wauzeka. Marin was unwilling that they should remain here, where they could still obstruct his great thoroughfare and collecting his tried and trusted band of French and Indians, he made a distant winter expedition against them. The Foxes were taken completely by surprise; and surrounding the place with his followers, Marin came suddenly upon them, killed twenty warriors, and took all the others prisoners, together with the women and children. Having fully conquered the Foxes, and having the last remnant of them in his power, Marin gave them their freedom; but required them to retire beyond the Mississippi, which they did.

The date of the final expulsion of the Foxes from Wisconsin, is involved in some obscurity; but the little light which can now be obtained, appears to fix that event in the year of 1746. For thirty years or more the war between the French and the Foxes, with their allies, had been kept up in the heart of Wisconsin, with more or less continuity, and with a determination and animosity rarely if ever equalled.

No apology can be necessary for the time devoted to the detail of the incidents of this long war, which forms so interesting a portion of Wisconsin's primeval history.

At the time of the final expulsion of the Foxes, the village of their allies the Sauks, was on the east side of the Fox River, near the present site of Green Bay, where they had until that time demeaned themselves well. About that time a difficulty arose between the French and the Sauks, which resulted in the shooting by Capt. De Velie or De Villiers, who had been in command of the garrison, of three of the Sauk chiefs, and the shooting of the Captain in return, by a young Sauk, only twelve years old, named Black Bird, who subsequently became a distinguished chief among his people.

The garrison being reinforced and joined by the French settlers under the lead of Charles de Langlade, attacked the Sauk nation at their village, where a severe battle occurred, in which several were killed on both sides, and the Sauks driven away.

The Sauks now retired to the Wisconsin River, and located upon

that beautiful plateau of table-land, upon which the twin villages of Prairie du Sac and Sauk City are located, where they had a fine village with comfortable houses. They were living here in 1766, when Carver visited the country; but must have left soon after, as in 1795, according to the authentic statement of Augustin Grignon, the village appeared to have been several years deserted; and there were then only a few remains of fire-places and posts to be seen.*

It seems probable, judging by the dim light to be derived from any authentic history and from tradition, that the Foxes and Sauks having become confederates, wrested from the Illinois their possessions, and incorporating the remnant which they spared of that numerous tribe, with their own, occupied the territory which had been the home of the Illinois. The principal seat of their power was the country about the mouth of Rock River, from whence in 1831, and more formidably and effectively in 1832, they made those forays upon the pioneer settlers of Illinois and Wisconsin, which resulted in what is generally known as the Black Hawk War.

For about eighty years immediately following the expulsion of the Fox and Sauk Indians, not a hostile conflict occurred between the white inhabitants of what is now Wisconsin and any Indian tribe. Besides the few missionaries who gave no offense to the Indians, and who were the apostles of the gospel of peace, there were no inhabitants who were not directly or remotely connected with the Indian trade, who for reasons already stated were suffered to pursue their vocation during this long period without interruption. Moreover, a large proportion of these traders were Frenchmen, many of whom had intermarried with the Indians of the various tribes, and their hybrid progeny exerted a powerful influence in creating a kindly feeling towards all French people.

But very different feelings pervaded the savage breast towards those who came to occupy the country for agricultural purposes; and, consequently, as they rightly believed, to impair its value

* Edward Tanner states, in his paper, in this volume, on "Wisconsin in 1818," that the Sauks, who then lived on the Mississippi, "emigrated from the Wisconsin about thirty-five years ago"—approximately fixing the period in 1783, and about a dozen years before Mr. Grignon visited their deserted village.

for their nomadic use. And most especially were the Winnebago Indians jealous of, and determinedly opposed to, any intrusion upon or occupation of the country, which should threaten to interfere with their exclusive occupancy of the lead mine region, the sole right to which east of the Mississippi, was claimed by that tribe.

Mr. John Shaw, who died a few years since in Green Lake County, was engaged between 1815 and 1820, in running a trading boat between St. Louis and Prairie du Chien. In one of those trips he was anxious to visit the lead mines at Galena, with one of his trading boats; but was told by the Indians that the "white man must not see this Lead Mines;" but as he spoke French fluently, he was supposed to be a Frenchman, and was permitted to go up Fever River where he traded with the Indians for lead.

The first occupation of the lead mines by white men was in 1822, when Col. James Johnson, brother of the famous Richard M. Johnson, took possession with a small party of men, under the protection of several detachments of troops sent forward by order of the war department. A very few persons, probably not more than twenty, spent the ensuing winter at Galena.

Col. Morgan was then in command at Fort Crawford, and had charge of the troops, and some sort of treaty or agreement was probably made between him and Col. Johnson on the one part, and the Indians on the other, by which the occupancy by the whites was assented to; but whatever it was, it does not appear to have been ratified by, if ever submitted to, the senate.

In 1823, some accessions were made to the population; and in August, by a census there taken, there were seventy-four persons, men, women and children, of whom a number were negroes. The total produce of lead shipped that year was 425,000 pounds.*

* R. W. Chandler, of Galena, drew, and had published in Cincinnati, in 1829, a valuable map of the lead mines, including all that part of Wisconsin west of the Four Lakes, giving the location of the few Indian villages, and all the lead diggings of that day.

Some statistics of the lead manufactured, and the estimated population of the Lead Region, are given on the margin of the map—including, of course, the small lead section around Galena, as well as the territory now constituting western Wisconsin. These early data are well worthy of a note in this connection.

There was a slight increase of immigration in 1824, and the mines at Hazel Green and New Diggings were discovered, and worked with great profit.

Two officers of the ordnance department—Maj. Anderson and Lieut. Burdine—were sent out to protect the interests of the government; and subsequently Lieut. Martin Thomas was appointed superintendent of the mines.

The fame of the Upper Mississippi lead mines, and their fabulous value and richness, had been spread far and wide throughout the Mississippi valley; and by the year 1825, the desire for gain and love of adventure and spirit of migration had taken possession of its inhabitants, especially in Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, so that the determination to occupy and utilize these mines of wealth could no longer be restrained by any pretensions of the red man to the exclusive right of their possession.

The time had now come when this beautiful country was to be occupied by a hardy, resolute, adventurous, as well as a brave and persevering population. The laws which generally confine migration of the human race to isothermal zones and similitude of climate, were to be set at defiance; and the emigrant from the mild climate of Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and southern Illinois, was to exchange the balmy and genial atmosphere to which he had been accustomed, for one in which, during nearly half the year, all nature is bound in icy chains and covered with its robe of snow. But no matter! The migratory spirit, stimulated by the greed for suddenly acquired wealth, and the irrepressible love of adventure, had taken possession of the pioneer immigrants to the Lead Mines, and the years of 1825 and 1826 witnessed a rush of emigration which had never before had its parallel, and the

“Amount of lead manufactured:

In 1825	439,473 lbs.
1826	1,560,530 lbs.
1827	6,824,389 lbs.
1828	12,957,100 lbs.
1829—first quarter	2,494,444 lbs.

“Estimated number of inhabitants:

In 1825	200
1826	1,000
1827	4,000
1828	10,000

“About one-twentieth are females, and one hundred are free blacks.”

like of which has never since been seen, unless in the migration to California, which succeeded the war with Mexico.

Most of these pioneers came with the expectation of soon getting rich, and returning to the homes they had left behind them. Many came in the spring and returned upon the approach of winter, thus exhibiting so close a resemblance to some of the piscatory tribe, that they received the designation of "Suckers;" and the results of their temporary and unsystematic labor were known as "Sucker holes."

Others, however—some influenced by success, and some compelled by the necessities resulting from adverse fortune—remained, and soon became permanently attached to the country; from the occupation of which no apprehension of Indian hostilities could deter them.

Such was the march of progress in the development of these newly-discovered lead mines, that before the Indian title was extinguished in August, 1829, the lead product exceeded fifteen million pounds; and this notwithstanding the continued disturbance of the settlers by hostile Indians, against which they were wholly dependent upon themselves for protection, until, by their own well-directed efforts, government protection was no longer necessary.

In the summer of 1825, a grand council, or treaty, was held at Prairie du Chien, with the different tribes of Indians. Gov. Cass, of Michigan, and Gen. Clark, of Missouri, superintendents of Indian affairs for their respective regions, were commissioners on the part of the United States. The Indian tribes represented were the Sioux, Sauks and Foxes, Chippewas, Winnebagoes, Menomonees, Iowas, and a portion of the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomie tribes living upon the Illinois. The object of this treaty was to make a general and lasting peace between these tribes, and also to settle the boundaries between them respectively. Gov. Cass, when asked what good he thought would result from it, shrugged his shoulders, and smiling, said: "They would have it so at Washington." A treaty of perpetual peace was made, and the boundaries settled between the different tribes, which resulted in keeping the Indians at peace—until they were ready again to go upon the war-path.

In October, 1826, by a positive order from Washington, the troops were removed from Fort Crawford, up the river to Fort Snelling, and Fort Crawford was abandoned, the commandant taking with him two Winnebago Indians who had been confined in the guard-house for some supposed offense of a trivial nature. He left behind, in charge of the sub-Indian agent, a brass swivel, a few wall-pieces, all the damaged arms, and some provisions. This removal induced the Winnebagoes to believe that the troops had fled through fear of them.

Several times during the winter of 1826-27, some of the older citizens of Prairie du Chien, who best understood the Indian character, and the peculiarities of the Winnebagoes—and especially Mr. Michael Brisbois—expressed serious fears of some outrages from those Indians in the spring, and that they were bent on war. But it was generally thought impossible that, surrounded, as they were, with Americans and troops in the country, they should for a moment seriously entertain such an idea.

In March, 1827, one of the residents of Prairie du Chien named Methode, went up Yellow, or Painted Rock Creek, about twelve miles above the village, to make sugar. His wife, said to have been a most beautiful woman, accompanied him with her five children. Besides these and his faithful dog, the wolves and the trees were his only companions. The sugar season being over, and he not returning nor being heard from, a party of his friends went to look for him. Methode's dog was first found, shot with half a score of balls, and yet holding in his dead jaws a piece of scarlet cloth, which he had apparently torn from an Indian legging. After further search the camp was found consumed by fire. The whole party of seven had been killed, all—Madame Methode in particular, she being *enceinte*—were shockingly mangled.

It afterwards appeared that a party of Winnebagoes had been seen near Yellow Creek, after Methode had gone there, and one of them—Wamandoosgaraka—having been arrested and examined, is said to have confessed his guilt, and implicated several others.

In the spring of 1827, a rumor very extensively circulated

among the Winnebagoes, and generally believed, that the two prisoners of their tribe who had been removed from Fort Crawford to Fort Snelling, had been turned over to the Chippewas, to run the gauntlet through a party of the latter tribe, armed with clubs and tomahawks, and the race for life had resulted in the killing of both of them. Something like this occurred with reference to some Sioux prisoners at Fort Snelling, but had no truth as applied to the Winnebago prisoners.

Hitherto the Winnebago chief, Red Bird, had not only been well known at Prairie du Chien, but had the confidence and respect of all the inhabitants to such an extent, that he was always sought after as a protector; and his presence was looked upon as a pledge of security against any outbreak that might be attempted.

When the unfounded rumors of the killing of the Winnebago prisoners at Fort Snelling were heard and believed, the leading chiefs held a council and resolved upon retaliation; and Red Bird was called upon to go out and "take meat" as they phrase it. Beckoning to Wekau and another Indian named Chichonsie, he told them to follow him. They proceeded to Prairie du Chien, and on the 26th of June went to the house of Hon. James Lockwood, who had left home the previous day, leaving his house in charge of his wife, her brother, a young man of sixteen, and a servant girl. Red Bird and the other two Indians entered the cellar kitchen, loaded their guns in the presence of the servant girl, and went up through the hall into Mrs. Lockwood's bedroom, where she was sitting alone. The moment they entered her room she believed they came to kill her, and immediately passed into and through the parlor, and crossed the hall into the store to her brother, where she found Duncan Graham, who had been in the country about forty years as a trader, and was known by all the Indians as an Englishman. He had formerly been commandant at Prairie du Chien, when under British dominion. The Indians followed Mrs. Lockwood into the store, and Mr. Graham by some means induced them to leave the house.

Red Bird and his savage accomplices then went the same day to McNair's Coulee, about two miles south-east from the village,

where lived Rijeste Gagnier and his wife with two small children—a boy three years old, and a daughter aged eleven months; and living with them was an old discharged soldier by the name of Solomon Lipcap. The three Indians entered the cabin, and, such visits being common, were received with the usual civility, and were asked if they would have something to eat. They said yes, and would like some fish and milk. As Mrs. Gagnier turned to get the fish and milk, she heard the click of Red Bird's rifle, which was instantly followed by its discharge, and her murdered husband fell dead at her feet. At the same moment the Indian Chichonsic shot and killed old Lipcap; when Mrs. Gagnier seeing Wekau, who had lingered about the door, she wrested from him his rifle; but from trepidation or some other cause was unable to use it, "feeling," as she expressed it, "like one in a dream, trying to call or to run, but without the ability to do either." She then with her oldest child, and bearing the rifle with her, ran to the village, and gave the alarm. A party of armed men returned with her, and brought away the two murdered men, and the infant which she had left covered up in the bed, which they found on the floor beneath it. The helpless child had been scalped by Wekau, who had inflicted upon its neck a severe cut to the bone just below the occiput, from which she afterwards recovered, and is still living, the mother of a family, but despoiled of the glory of her sex.

On the same day (June 26th), two keel-boats commanded by Capt. Allen Lindsay, which a few days before had ascended the river laden with provisions for the troops at Fort Snelling, passed the mouth of the Bad Axe on their way back to St. Louis. On the upward trip some hostile demonstrations had been made by the Dakotas, which induced Capt. Lindsay to ask that his crew should be furnished with arms and ammunition. Col. Snelling, the commanding officer, complied with his request, and the thirty-two men of which the crew consisted, were provided with thirty-two muskets and a barrel of ball cartridges. The Dakotas occupied the right bank of the river, and Capt. Lindsay and his men were on their guard against any attack from them; but they had no apprehension of any attack from the Winnebagoes who occupied the left bank of the Mississippi.

The village of Wabashaw, the site of the present town of Winona, was the lowest point on the river at which they expected to encounter the Dakotas. Having passed this point in safety, and a strong wind having sprung up, the boats parted company, and one of them, the "O. H. Perry," by the time it reached the mouth of the Bad Axe, was several miles in advance of the other.

In the meantime thirty-seven Winnebagoes, inspired by the same common feelings of vengeance, cruelty, and hate, which had led to the murder of Methode and his family; and which was, on that very day, instigating the invasion of the peaceful home of Gagnier, and the murder of its inmates by Red Bird, Wekau and Chichonsic, had, in pursuance doubtless of a common purpose to exterminate the whites, concealed themselves upon an island in the Mississippi near the mouth of the Bad Axe, between which and the left bank of the river, it was known that the two keel-boats would pass on their return from Fort Snelling.

These boats, in model and size, were similar to ordinary canal boats, and furnished considerable protection from exterior attacks with small arms, to those on board, who concealed themselves below its gunwales.

As the "Perry" approached the island where these hostile savages were concealed, and when within thirty yards of the bank, the air suddenly resounded with the blood-chilling and ear-piercing cries of the war-whoop, and a volley of rifle balls rained across the deck. Of the sixteen men on board, either from marvellous good luck, or because they were below deck, only one man fell at the first fire. He was a negro named Peter, his leg was dreadfully shattered, and he afterwards died of the wound.

The crew now concealed themselves in the boat below the water line, suffering it to float whithersoever the current and the high east wind might drive it. The second volley resulted in the instant death of one man, an American named Stewart, who had risen to return the first fire, and his musket protruding through a loop-hole, showed some Winnebago where to aim. The bullet passed directly through his heart, and he fell dead with his finger on the trigger of his undischarged gun.

The boat now grounded on a sand bar, and the Indians rushed to their canoes, intending to board it. The crew having recovered from their panic, and seeing that the only escape from savage butchery was vigorous war, seized their arms and prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. In one canoe containing several savages, two were killed, and in their dying struggles upset the canoe, and the rest were obliged to swim ashore, where it was some time before those who were not disabled by wounds could restore their arms to fighting order. Two of the Indians succeeded in getting on board the keel-boat, both of whom were killed. One fell into the water, and the other into the boat, in which he was carried down the river; but in this hand-to-hand conflict the brave commander of the crew, named Beauchamp, was killed by the first of these two boarders, who in his turn was killed by a daring sailor named Jack Mandeville—called “Saucy Jack,” who shot the rash warrior through the head, and he fell overboard, carrying his gun with him.

Mandeville now assumed command of the crew, whose numbers had been reduced to ten effective men. He sprang into the water on the sand bar for the purpose of shoving off the boat and escaping from their perilous position, and was followed by four resolute men of his crew. The balls flew thick and fast about them, passing through their clothes; but they persisted, and the boat was soon afloat. Seeing their prey escaping, the Winnebagoes raised a yell of mingled rage and despair, and gave the whites a farewell volley. It was returned with three hearty cheers, and ere a gun could be re-loaded, the boat had floated out of shooting distance, and the survivors were safe, arriving at Prairie du Chien about sunset the next day, the 27th of June.

The casualties of this engagement were, two of the crew killed, two mortally and two slightly wounded, while it is supposed that ten or twelve Indians were killed, and a great number wounded.

The other keel-boat, in which was Capt. Lindsay, had on board Mr. William J. Snelling, a son of Col. Snelling. Mr. Snelling, the son, is the putative author of an interesting anonymous article in relation to the “Winnebago Out-break of 1827,” which was re-published in the fifth volume of the *Reports and Collections of*

the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and from which many of the incidents now given are taken. Capt. Lindsay's boat reached the mouth of the Bad Axe about midnight. The Indians opened a fire upon her, which was promptly returned; one ball only hit the boat, doing no damage; the others passed over harmless in the darkness through which she pursued her way, and arrived safely at Prairie du Chien on the 28th.

A slander upon Capt. Lindsay and his crew is contained in Reynolds' *Life and Times*, which ought not to escape contradiction. It is stated in this work that the two keel-boats, in ascending the river, "stopped at a large camp of the Winnebago Indians on the river, not far above Prairie du Chien. The boatmen made the Indians drunk—and no doubt were so themselves—when they captured some six or seven squaws, who were also drunk. These captured squaws were forced on the boats for corrupt and brutal purposes. But not satisfied with this outrage on female virtue, the boatmen took the squaws with them in the boats to Fort Snelling, and returned with them. When the Indians became sober and knew the injury done them in this delicate point, they mustered all their forces, amounting to several hundreds, and attacked the boats in which the squaws were confined."

Mr. Snelling, whose means of knowing the facts were far superior to those of the author of Reynolds' *Life and Times*, in the paper to which reference has been made, in speaking of the ascent of these keel-boats, says: "They passed the mouth of Black River with a full sheet, so that a few Winnebagoes who were there encamped, had some difficulty in reaching them with their canoes. They might have taken both boats, for there were but three fire-locks on board; nevertheless, they offered no injury. They sold fish and venison to the boatmen on amicable terms, and suffered them to pursue their journey unmolested. We mention this trifling circumstance merely because it was afterwards reported in the St. Louis papers, that the crews of these boats had abused these Winnebagoes shamefully, which assuredly was not the case." Mr. Snelling also says, that "thirty-seven Indians were engaged in this battle." It is probable that the St.

Louis papers were the authority upon which the statement now contradicted was made.

The inhabitants in and about Prairie du Chien were generally and very greatly alarmed. They left their houses and farms, and crowded into the now dilapidated fort, and speedily established a very effective discipline. A military company was organized, with Thomas McNair, captain, Joseph Brisbois, lieutenant, and Jean Brunet, ensign, all of whom had previously been commissioned for these offices by Gov. Cass. Mr. Snelling and Judge Lockwood acted as supernumeraries under Capt. McNair and the force was found, on muster, to number ninety effective men and women who could handle a musket in case of attack. The fort and block-house were put in as good state of repair as circumstances and materials would admit. The swivel and wall-pieces were found and mounted, and all the blacksmiths were put in requisition to repair the condemned muskets. Judge Lockwood, fortunately, had an abundance of powder and lead, which he liberally furnished, so that the old fort and its occupants were in a respectable state of defense.

An old voyageur was engaged to cross the Mississippi, and go back through the country to report the situation to Col. Snelling at Fort Snelling. He performed this service; and after considerable delay, Col. Snelling came down the river with two companies of U. S. infantry.

An express was sent to Galena, and the effect of the alarming news is described by Col. D. M. Parkinson in these words: "The reports being spread over the country, a scene of the most alarming and disorderly confusion ensued—alarm and consternation were depicted in every countenance—thousands flocking to Galena for safety, when, in fact, it was the most exposed and unsafe place in the whole country. All were without arms, order or control. The roads were lined in all directions with frantic and fleeing men, women and children, expecting every moment to be overtaken, tomahawked and scalped by the Indians. It was said, and I presume with truth, that the encampment of fugitives at the head of Apple River, on the first night of the alarm, was four miles in extent, and numbered three thousand persons."

Gov. Cass, who had come to Butte des Morts to hold a treaty with the Winnebagoes, learning from rumor that there was dissatisfaction among them, started in his canoe, and arrived at Prairie du Chien on the morning of the 4th of July. Having ordered into the service of the United States, McNair's military company, he proceeded hastily in his canoe to Galena. There he raised a volunteer company, with Abner Fields as captain, William S. Hamilton and one Smith as lieutenants, in which D. M. Parkinson was sergeant. The command of Fort Crawford was assigned by Gov. Cass to Capt. Fields, who, with his company, immediately proceeded to Prairie du Chien on a keel-boat, and took possession of the barracks. Lieut. Martin Thomas, of the U. S. army, went up and mustered the two companies of militia into the service of the government.

In a few days Col. Snelling arrived with his troops, and assumed command at Fort Crawford. He soon after discharged Capt. Fields' company; but Capt. McNair's company was retained in service until some time in the month of August.

Gov. Cass proceeded from Galena to St. Louis to confer with Gen. Atkinson, then in command of Jefferson Barracks and of the Western Military Department. This resulted in Atkinson's removing up the Mississippi with the disposable force under his command.

During this time the miners in the lead mines had organized a company of mounted volunteers, which numbered over one hundred men, well mounted and armed, and chose Col. Henry Dodge as their commander. While it was the peculiar duty of this force to protect the settlers of the lead mines against any attack of the savages, they were as ready to pursue them and give battle as to resist attack.

Red Bird and the other Winnebagoes, having, as was supposed, fled up the Wisconsin, it was the plan of Gen. Atkinson to go up that river in boats; and he also secured the co-operation of Col. Dodge and his mounted volunteers, who marched to the Wisconsin, a detachment going to Prairie du Chien, and the remainder to English Prairie (now Muscoda). This mounted force scoured both sides of the Wisconsin River from its mouth to the Portage, driving every Indian before them.

Major Whistler, in command at Fort Howard, had been ordered to proceed up Fox River with any force at his disposal, or which might volunteer to aid him. A company of Oneida and Stockbridge Indians, sixty-two in number, were raised by Ebenezer Childs and Joseph Dickinson, which was mustered into Maj. Whistler's detachment at Little Butte des Morts. This force arrived on the 1st day of September, 1827, on the high bluff, where, during the next year, the erection of Fort Winnebago was commenced. Here, in pursuance of orders from Gen. Atkinson, sent by express announcing the approach of his force and Dodge's volunteers, Major Whistler encamped to await the arrival of the general.

The Winnebagoes were now in a desperate plight. With Col. Snelling in command at Fort Crawford, with a large force of regulars and volunteers, confronted by Major Whistler and his troops, and with Gen. Atkinson following their retreat, aided by Dodge and his mounted volunteers, who drove them out of every hiding place, there seemed to be no alternative for them but to appeal to the lenient mercy of their pursuers.

Soon after the arrival of Major Whistler, it was learned that the Winnebagoes were encamped a little more than a mile distant on the Wisconsin, where Portage City is now located, and were several hundred strong. The Winnebagoes had heard of Gen. Atkinson's approach, and of Dodge's pursuit, before they were known to Major Whistler, and in a few days a great stir was discovered among the Indians, and a party of thirty warriors was observed by the aid of a field glass, to be approaching his command. The Indian party bore three flags. On two—one in front and one in rear—were the American stars and stripes, while the other, in the center, borne by Red Bird, was white. They bore no arms. When they had approached near to the Fox River, they stopped, and singing was heard. Those who were familiar with the air, and who recognized the bearer of the white flag, said: "It is Red Bird singing his death song." When they had reached the margin of the river, Maj. Whistler ordered Capt. Childs, who was officer of the guard, to take the guard to the river, and ascertain what the Winnebagoes wanted. They replied they had come

to deliver up the murderers. They were received by the guard, and taken across the river into the presence of Maj. Whistler. In the lead was Carimaunee, a distinguished chief. He said: "They are here. Like braves they have come in. Treat them as braves. Do not put them in irons." The military had been drawn up in line, the Menomonee and Oneida Indians in groups on the left, the band of music on the right. In front of the center stood Red Bird and his two accomplices in the Gagnier murder, while those who had accompanied them formed a semi-circle on the right and left. All eyes were fixed on Red Bird, as well they might be, for of all his tribe he was the most perfect in form, face and gesture. In height he was about six feet; straight without restraint. His proportions from his head to his feet were those of the most exact symmetry, and even his fingers were models of beauty. His face was full of all the ennobling, and, at the same time, winning expressions; it appeared to be a compound of grace and dignity, of firmness and decision, all tempered with mildness and mercy. It was impossible to conceive that such a face concealed the heart of a murderer.

It was painted, one side red, the other intermixed with green and white. He was clothed in a Yankton suit of dressed elk-skin, perfectly white, and as soft as a kid glove, new and beautiful. It consisted of a jacket, ornamented with fringe of the same material, the sleeves being cut to fit his finely formed arm, and of leggings also of dressed elk-skin, the fringe of which was varied and enriched with blue beads. On his feet he wore moccasins. On each shoulder, in place of an epaulette, was fastened a preserved red bird. Around his neck he wore a collar of blue wampum, beautifully mixed with white, which was sewed on to a piece of cloth, whilst the claws of a panther or wild cat with their points inward, formed the rim of the collar. Around his neck were hanging strands of wampum of various lengths, the circles enlarging as they descended. There was no attempt at ornamenting the hair, after the Indian style; but it was cut after the best fashion of the most civilized. Across his breast, in a diagonal position, and bound tight to it, was his war pipe, at least three feet long, brightly ornamented with dyed horsehair, and the

feathers and bills of birds. Other ornaments were displayed with exquisite taste upon his breast and shoulders. In one of his hands he held the white flag, and in the other the calumet or pipe of peace.

There he stood. Not a muscle moved, nor was the expression of his face changed a particle. He appeared conscious that, according to the Indian law, he had done no wrong. His conscience was at repose. Death had no terrors for him. He was there prepared to receive the blow that should send him to the happy hunting grounds to meet his fathers and brothers who had gone before him.

All were told to sit down, when a talk followed between the head men of the Winnebagoes and Major Whistler, in which the former claimed much credit for bringing in the captives, and hoped their white brothers would accept horses in commutation for the lives of their friends, and earnestly besought that in any event they might not be put in irons. They were answered and told that they had done well thus to come in; were advised to warn their people against killing ours, and were impressed with a proper notion of their own weakness and the extent of our power. They were told that the captives should not be put in irons, that they should have something to eat, and tobacco to smoke.

Red Bird then stood up, facing the commanding officer, Major Whistler. After a moment's pause, and a quick survey of the troops, and with a composed observation of his people, he spoke, looking at Major Whistler, and said: "I am ready." Then, advancing a step or two, he paused and said, "I do not wish to be put in irons. Let me be free. I have given away my life—(stooping and taking some dust between his finger and thumb and blowing it away)—like that" (eyeing the dust as it fell and vanished), then adding, "I would not take it back. It is gone." Having thus spoken, he threw his hands behind him, indicating that he was leaving all things behind him, and marched briskly up to Major Whistler, breast to breast. A platoon was wheeled backwards from the center of the line, when Major Whistler stepping aside, the prisoners marched through the line in charge of a file of men, to a tent that had been provided for them in the rear,

where a guard was set over them. The other Indians then left the ground by the way they had come, taking with them the advice they had received, and a supply of meat, flour and tobacco.

Gen. Atkinson's troops, very soon after the surrender of these captives, arrived at Fort Winnebago, as did also the volunteers in command of Col. Dodge. The Indian prisoners were delivered over to Gen. Atkinson, by whom they were sent to Fort Crawford. Gen. Atkinson met the Grey-headed Dekauray at the Portage, who, in presence of Col. Dodge, disclaimed for himself and the other Winnebagoes any unfriendly feelings towards the United States, and disavowed any connection with the murders on the Mississippi. Gen. Atkinson then discharged the volunteers, assigning two companies of regulars to the occupation of Fort Crawford, and ordering the other regulars to their respective posts, while he himself returned to Jefferson Barracks. And thus ended the Winnebago out-break.

It may be thought that the results of this war are very meagre for the amount of force employed in it. If measured by the amount of blood shed after the murders at Prairie du Chien and on the keel-boat, the criticism is very correct. But if it be intended to suggest that there was no sufficient reason for apprehending that the Winnebagoes contemplated a general rising against and massacre of the whites, the thought and suggestion are the results of great ignorance of the intentions of the Winnebagoes, and of the facts of the case. There is satisfactory evidence that the Pottawatamies were allied with the Winnebagoes, and that they were to fall upon and destroy the settlement at Chicago, and it is probable that but for the movements resulting from the efforts of Gen. Cass, who was fortunately near the seat of war, the whole country would have been overrun with a general Indian out-break.

Red Bird died in prison at Prairie du Chien; and in September, 1828, his two accomplices, Wekau and Chiehonsie, were indicted, tried, and convicted at a term of the U. S. Court held by Judge Doty, as accomplices of Red Bird in the murder of Gagnier and Lipcap. They were sentenced to be hung on the 26th December following; but before that day, a pardon arrived from

President Adams, dated November 3d, and the two Indians were discharged.

The termination of the Winnebago War brought a temporary restoration of peace, which revived anew the adventurous spirit of immigration, and brought with it a large influx of miners and others to the lead mines, and prosperity and progress constantly attended the increasing settlements of the country, which received no material check until the occurrence of the Black Hawk War in 1832.

The village of Black Hawk, or, as he called himself, Black Sparrow Hawk, on the left bank of the Mississippi, near the mouth of Rock River, included the site of the present city of Rock Island. This Indian village was all embraced within the limits of the territory ceded by the treaty with the Sauks and Foxes, made at St. Louis on the 3d November, 1804, by Gen. William Henry Harrison. The validity of this treaty, which was not signed by Black Hawk, was denied by him, and although it was ratified and confirmed by another treaty made in May, 1816, to which Black Hawk affixed his mark, he pretended to be ignorant of what he had done, and denied that the second treaty had any more validity than the first.

Previous to 1831, the white settlers were in possession of much of the country east of the Mississippi, around Black Hawk's village, and even of the village itself; and in the spring of that year, the chief, driven to desperation in his fruitless attempts to resist what he chose to consider the lawless encroachments of the white settlers, and aggravated by a recent murderous attack of friendly Menomonees, near Prairie du Chien, crossed the Mississippi from the west, with his own band of about three hundred warriors, usually called the British band, together with the women and children, with a purpose to regain, if possible, the possession of the home of his people, and the burial place of his forefathers.

He ordered the white settlers away, threw down their fences, unroofed their houses, cut up their grain, drove off and killed their cattle, and threatened the people with death if they remained. About the first of June, six companies of the United

States troops were, upon the application of Governor Reynolds, sent from Jefferson Barracks to the scene of the disturbance; and by the 10th of June, fifteen hundred volunteers, on the call of the governor, assembled at Beardstown, on the Illinois River, and were duly organized under General Joseph Duncan of the State militia. On the 26th of June, the volunteer force having united with the regulars under Gen. Gaines, marched to the Sauk village; but no enemy was found there. The Indians had quietly departed on the approach of the army, and in their canoes had crossed to the western side of the Mississippi, which it was not claimed had been embraced in the territory ceded by the treaties.

The army remained encamped for several days on the site of the town on Rock Island, where Black Hawk and his chiefs and braves sued for peace, and a treaty was entered into on June 30th, by which the Indians agreed to remain forever after on the west side of the river, and never to re-cross it without the permission of the president, or the governor of the State. Gen. Gaines reported that "the Sauks were as completely humbled as if they had been chastised in battle, and less disposed to disturb the frontier inhabitants." In this the general was greatly mistaken; for scarcely a year elapsed before Black Hawk, with all the savage forces he could command, again crossed the Mississippi, when the real Black Hawk War ensued.

This war, although originating on a portion of Rock River some distance from the settlements in the lead mines, and inaugurated by a tribe who laid no claim to our territory, justly caused great alarm to the inhabitants. The lead mine region was not so distant from the scene of the first hostile demonstrations, that it could not easily be reached; and the relations between the Sauks and the Winnebagoes were such, that serious fears were entertained that the two tribes would make the war a common one.

These apprehensions induced Col. Dodge, in the month of May, to assemble a company of fifty volunteers, commanded by Captains James H. Gentry and John H. Rountree, who proceeded to the head of the Four Lakes, where, on the 25th day of that month, Col. Gratiot, the Indian agent for the Winnebagoes, had induced them to meet in council.

Col. Dodge, in his "talk" to the Indians, said: "My friends, Mr. Gratiot, your father, and myself, have met to have a talk with you. Having identified us both as your friends, in making a sale of your country to the United States, you will not suspect us of deceiving you.

"The Sauks have shed the blood of our people. The Winnebago Prophet, and, as we are told, one hundred of your people, have united with Black Hawk and his party. Our people are anxious to know in what relation you stand to us, whether as friends or enemies.

"Your residence being near our settlements, it is necessary and proper that we should explicitly understand from you, the chiefs and warriors, whether or not you intend to aid, harbor or counsel the Sauks in your country. To do so will be considered as a declaration of war on your part.

"Your great American father is the friend of the red skins; he wishes to make you happy. Your chiefs, who have visited Washington, know him well. He is mild in peace, but terrible in war. He will ask of no people what is not right, and he will submit to nothing wrong. His power is great. He commands all the warriors of the American people. If you strike us, you strike him. If you make war on us, you will have your country taken from you, your annuity money will be forfeited, and the lives of your people must be lost. We speak the words of truth. We hope they will sink deep into your hearts.

"The Sauks have killed eleven of our people and wounded three. Our people have killed eleven of the Sauks. It was a small detachment of our army who were engaged with the Sauks; when the main body of our army appeared, they ran.

"The Sauks have given you bad counsel. They tell you lies, and no truth. Stop your ears to their words. They know death and destruction follow them, and they want you to unite with them, wishing to place you in the same situation with themselves.

"We have told you the consequences of uniting with our enemies. We hope that the bright chain of friendship will still continue, that we may travel the same road in friendship under a clear sky.

“We have always been your friends. We have said that you would be honest, and true to your treaties. Do not let your actions deceive us. So long as you are true and faithful, we will extend the hand of friendship to you and your children. If unfaithful to your treaties, you must expect to share the fate of the Sauks.”

The Winnebagoes promised to be faithful to their treaties, and remain at peace; but it is well known that their promises were inspired alone by fear, while the desire for revenge was with them the predominant passion.

Black Hawk, regardless of the obligations of the treaty into which he had entered the previous year, crossed the Mississippi early in the spring of 1832, with the intention of using all his endeavors, even unto war, to recover possession of his village. Governor Reynolds again called upon the militia of Illinois, and in a few days eighteen hundred men responded to the call. They were organized into four regiments, and a spy battalion, under the general command of General Samuel Whiteside, of the State militia. The line of march was taken up from Beardstown, on the 27th of April, for the mouth of Rock River. General Atkinson had left Jefferson Barracks on the 8th of April, and set out for the Upper Mississippi with the regular forces of the United States army; and Black Hawk, with his whole tribe of followers, began to move up Black River. General Whiteside, in pursuance of arrangements with General Atkinson, moved up Rock River to the Prophet's town; and finding that Black Hawk was still in advance, they burned the Prophet's village, and moved on about forty miles to Dixon's Ferry, where a halt was made to await the arrival of General Atkinson with the regular forces. At Dixon were found two battalions of mounted volunteers, consisting of about three hundred men, under command of Majors Stillman and Bailey.

Major Stillman, with his force, was ordered up Rock River to spy out the Indians. He began his march on the 12th of May; and, about the middle of the afternoon of the 14th, the battalion halted for the purpose of encamping for the night. It has been said, and is probably true, that many of the men were intoxicated,

and the pursuit was generally regarded as a big frolic. Nearly all the horses had been picketed out, turned loose or otherwise disposed of. The men were lazily engaged about camp, some gathering wood, some pitching tents, and others drinking whisky, with which they were abundantly supplied. But suddenly a great commotion arose. The Indians raised the war-whoop, and appeared on the open prairie a short distance in advance. Then the rush began, and a strife ensued as to who should first mount and give chase. Pell-mell was the order of march, which continued for two or three miles. Two of the Indians were overtaken on the prairie, and killed.

At length the rear of the army reached the Sycamore Creek, where they met the van, in full retreat in the same disgraceful disorder, with the whole body of Indians in hot pursuit. The valiant men, who a few minutes before were so anxious to pursue the enemy, were now more anxious to escape; and they continued their retreat, until they reached Dixon. In this confusion Capt. Adams, with the company from Peoria, succeeded in crossing the creek, and took a position between the Indians and the fugitives. This position they held for some time against the whole force of the enemy, and no doubt saved the lives of many; but at the cost of the life of Capt. Adams and several of his men. The total casualties in the first and most disgraceful encounter with the Indians were eleven of Stillman's battalion killed, and three wounded, while only three Indians were known to have been killed. This was the first blood shed in the Black Hawk War. The next day General Whiteside, and the volunteers under his command, marched for the scene of the disaster; but the Indians had scattered, and could not be found. The volunteer army buried the dead, and returned to Dixon, where General Atkinson arrived the following day with the regular forces and supplies of provisions, of which the volunteers stood in much need.

Colonel Dodge, who, by a common intuitive feeling, was regarded as the leader of the people of the lead mines, and commander of all their military forces, as he was also the lawful commander of the militia of that part of Michigan Territory, on the 8th of May addressed a letter from Mineral Point to Governor

Reynolds, asking for information in relation to the movements of the Illinois forces, expressing fears of a union of the Sauks and Winnebagoes, and requesting that a part of the Illinois forces might be sent across Rock River to co-operate with a mounted force to be brought into the field from the lead mines. This letter was sent by a special embassy, consisting of Judge Gentry, Col. Moore, and James P. Cox.

At the same time, Col. Dodge, with twenty-seven of his neighbors, who were well mounted, among whom were his son Augustus C., started on an expedition to Rock River to ascertain the position and probable movements of Black Hawk and his followers. The small party proceeded by way of Apple River to Buffalo Grove, where an Indian trail was discovered, and followed to a point nearly opposite the Kishwaukee, and within a few miles of the ground from which Maj. Stillman was on the same day disastrously beaten, and put to flight. After Stillman's defeat, Governor Reynolds sent an express at night to Col. Dodge, informing him of the facts, and that his country in the Territory was in imminent danger from the attack of the Indians. Col. Dodge immediately returned home, having been absent about a week, reported the results, and advised the inhabitants to protect themselves by forts and other precautions, and to organize immediately for defense.

The inhabitants of the lead mines were now thoroughly alarmed by constant dread of attack from Black Hawk and his warriors, who had small parties scattered all over the country, between the Rock, Mississippi, and Wisconsin rivers, which "occupied every grove, waylaid every road, and hung around every settlement," and induced the most serious alarm in the minds of all the inhabitants of the mining region. The bravest hearts thought it no evidence of cowardice to use every precaution against surprise and sudden attack. Forts, block-houses, and stockades were erected by the people at numerous places, for the protection and defense of themselves and their families, and into which they removed. Among these were Fort Union, the headquarters of Col. Dodge, near Dodgeville; Fort Defiance, at the farm of D. M. Parkinson; Fort Hamilton, at Wiota; Fort Jackson, at Mineral

Point; Mound Fort, at Blue Mounds; and others at Wingville, Cassville, Platteville, Gratiot's Grove, Diamond Grove, Elk Grove, White Oak Springs, and Old Shullsburg, besides many others.

It was soon ascertained that the mode of warfare adopted by the Sauks was to keep the main body concealed in strongholds, and avoid a conflict with a superior force, while small detached parties should attack the undefended settlements, and any stragglers who could be found away from the protection of the forts and block-houses.

It is difficult to state definitely the number of names of the numerous persons whose lives were sacrificed to the ferocity of the savages.

On the 21st of May, about seventy Indians attacked a party of whites assembled in the house of Mr. Davis on Indian Creek, near Ottawa, and killed and scalped fifteen whites, and took two young women named Hall prisoners, who were afterwards surrendered at the Blue Mounds through the agency of a party of Winnebagoes who were inspired by a large reward of \$2,000, offered by General Atkinson, for their restoration.

These female captives were brought to the Mound Fort on the 3d of June. Col. Dodge, who had returned home only a day or two before, from his "talk" with the Indians on the 25th of May, had been sent for on the 1st of June, on account of an apprehended attack by the Indians. He immediately collected about two hundred mounted men, and was fortunately present with this force when the young women were brought in by the Winnebagoes, of whom there were about fifty, including such distinguished chiefs and braves as White Crow—a famous orator—Spotted Arm, Little Thunder, Little Priest and others. Col. Dodge purchased and furnished them a large beef stew, upon which they feasted sumptuously; furnished them with comfortable quarters in miners' cabins, and in all suitable ways sought to impress on these Winnebagoes that the whites had no other than friendly feelings towards them, and to inspire, if possible, a reciprocal feeling on their part. Their friendship for the Sauks and Foxes was well known, and suspicions and apprehensions of an alliance offensive and defensive between the two tribes had long been

generally entertained, which were by no means allayed by their promises of fidelity, friendship and peace made to Col. Dodge at the talk held only a few days before.

When Col. Dodge retired for the night, no appearance of danger or disaffection could be discovered. But during the night he was awakened, and informed that the Indians had left the quarters assigned them, and gone into the bush; that White Crow, the orator, had been endeavoring to stir up the other Indians to hostility; that they were sulky, moody and stealthy in their conversation and movements; that they had been grinding their knives, tomahawks and spears, and that two athletic young warriors had gone stealthily in the direction of the Four Lakes, where the main body of the Winnebagoes were encamped.

Col. Dodge, taking the officer of the guard, with six men and an interpreter, marched to the "bush" where the Indians were encamped, and took White Crow and five others of the chiefs and braves, and marched them off without ceremony, to a cabin near by, and ordered them to lie down there, and remain until morning; and then laid down with them, at the same time directing the officer of the guard to place a strong party around the cabin, and a double guard around the whole encampment, which required nearly all the men in the command.

The next day, these captive chiefs and a number of young warriors were marched, much against their will, to Morrison's Grove, fifteen miles west of the Blue Mounds; Col. Gratiot, the Indian Agent, was sent for at Gratiot's Grove, and on his arrival the next day, another council was held. Col. Dodge told the Indians, frankly and plainly, what were his suspicions and apprehensions in relation to their treacherous intentions. They stoutly denied any such design; but failed to satisfy Col. Dodge, who retained as hostages for the good faith of the Indians, three of their leading chiefs—Whirling Thunder, the principal war chief, Spotted Arm and Little Priest. These three were conveyed to Gratiot's Grove the next day, and all the other Indians were discharged, and the Hall girls were received and restored to their friends. The three hostages were kept in prison until Posey, Henry, and Alexander arrived with their command, when they were set at liberty.

The detachment of volunteers returned with Col. Dodge to Fort Union (Dodge's residence), and on the 5th of June proceeded to Gratiot's Grove, where they were joined the next day by Capt. Stephenson's company of volunteers from Galena.

On the 22d of May, the body of one Durley was found, murdered and scalped, near Buffalo Grove, and on the next day an Indian agent, named St. Vrain, together with John Fowler, William Hale, and Aaron Hawley, met the same fate near the same place.

The object of this assemblage of the volunteers at Gratiot's Grove, was to find and punish the Indians who had been engaged in the perpetration of these murders, and to protect the country from the hostilities of the Sauks, in whatever manner they might be directed by the commandant-in-chief.

Henry Dodge was one of the early pioneers of the lead region, to which he had removed in 1826 from Missouri, where he had held the office of United States Marshal, and was highly esteemed as a worthy, brave and patriotic citizen. He brought with him a large family of sons and daughters, and was largely engaged in the business of mining and smelting lead, to which his personal efforts were industriously devoted. He was assigned to the command of all the Wisconsin volunteers, as well as those from Galena. He was under the command of Gen. Atkinson, to whom it was his purpose to report in person at Rock River, with the volunteer forces now under his command.

On the 7th of June, Col. Dodge, with his volunteers, marched to Kirker's farm, at the head of Apple River, where they camped, and Col. Dodge addressed them as follows:

"Volunteers: We have met to take the field. The tomahawk and scalping knife are drawn over the heads of the weak and defenseless inhabitants of our country. Let us unite, my brethren in arms; let harmony, union and concert exist; be vigilant, silent and cool. Discipline and obedience to orders will make small bodies of men formidable and invincible; without order and subordination the largest bodies of armed men are no better than armed mobs. Although we have entire confidence in the government of our choice, knowing, as we all do, that ours is

a government of the people, where the equal rights of all are protected, and that the power of our countrymen can crush this savage foe; yet it will take time for the government to direct a force sufficient to give security and peace to the frontier people.

“I have, as well as yourselves, entire confidence, both in the president of the United States, and the distinguished individual at the head of the war department; that our Indian relations are better understood by those distinguished men, Jackson and Cass, than by any two citizens who could be selected to fill their stations. They have often met our savage enemies on the field of battle, where they have conquered them, and have often also met them in council. They understand well all the artifice, cunning and stratagems for which our enemies are distinguished; they well know our wants, and will apply the remedy. In Gen. Atkinson, in whose protection this frontier is placed, I have the most entire confidence. He is well advised of our situation. You will recollect the responsibility he assumed for the people of this country in 1827, by ascending the Wisconsin with six hundred infantry, and one hundred and fifty mounted men, to demand the murderers of our people. Many of us had the honor of serving under him on that occasion. He has my entire confidence, both as a man of talents in his profession, and as a soldier and a gentleman. If our government will let him retain his command, he will give us a lasting peace, that will insure us tranquillity for years. He knows the resources as well as the character of the Indians we have to contend with, and if the government furnishes him the means, our troubles will be of short duration.

“What, my fellow soldiers, is the character of the foes we have to contend with? They are a faithless banditti of savages, who have violated all treaties. They have left the country and the nation of which they form a part. The policy of these marauders and robbers of our people appears to be, to enlist the disaffected and restless of other nations, which will give them strength and resources, to murder our people and burn their property. They are the enemies of all people, both the whites and Indians. Their thirst for blood is not to be satisfied. They are willing to bring ruin and destruction on other Indians, in order to

glut their vengeance on us. The humane policy of the government will not apply to these deluded people. Like the pirates of the sea, their hand is against every man, and the hand of every man should be against them. Faithless to the government in everything, it will surely be the policy of the government to let them receive that kind of chastisement which will quiet them effectually, and make a lasting example for others. The future growth and prosperity of our country is to be decided for years by the policy that is now to be pursued by the government in relation to the Indians. Our existence as a people is at stake, and great as the resources of our country are, the security of the lives of our people depends on our vigilance, caution and bravery. The assistance of our government may be too late for us; let us not then await the arrival of our enemies at our doors, but advance upon them, fight them, watch them, and hold them in check. Let us avoid surprise and ambuscades. Let every volunteer lie with his arms in his hands, so that when he rises to his feet, the line of battle will be formed. If attacked in the night, we will charge the enemy at a quick pace and even front. The eyes of the people are upon us; let us endeavor, by our actions, to retain the confidence and support of our countrymen."

The command marched to the scene of the murder of St. Vrain, Fowler, Hale, and Hawley, near Buffalo Grove (which is near Polo Station, on the Illinois Central rail-road), where they found and buried the bodies of the three former; the body of Hawley was never recovered. At this point, Capt. Stephenson separated from the command, and returned to Galena, with his company. Col. Dodge proceeded with the remainder of the mounted volunteers to the camp of the regular troops, at Dixon's Ferry. Gen. Hugh Brady was in command here, Gen. Atkinson's headquarters having been removed to the rapids of the Illinois River (now Ottawa), where he was engaged in organizing three brigades of Illinois volunteers. Col. Dodge, with twenty-five of his mounted volunteers, escorted Gen. Brady to Gen. Atkinson's headquarters, where, on the 11th of June, the plan of the campaign was agreed upon, and Col. Dodge received his orders. The whole command of volunteers then returned to Gratiot's Grove, where, on the 14th

of June, they were remanded to their respective posts, to hold themselves in readiness for such further services as might be required of them. On the same day, Col. Dodge returned to his headquarters at Fort Union, having first communicated to the Winnebago chiefs, Whirling Thunder, Spotted Arm, and Little Priest, held as hostages, a "talk" sent to them by General Atkinson.

On the 26th of May, Gen. Atkinson sent, as an express, Col. Wm. S. Hamilton, from Dixon's to Gen. Street, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, requesting the latter to send forward as many Sioux and Menomonee Indians as could be called within striking distance of Prairie du Chien, to be employed, in conjunction with the troops, against the Sauks and Foxes. A similar message was sent to Col. Boyd, the Indian agent at Green Bay. Col. Street sent Thos. P. Burnett, who was then sub-Indian agent, up the river, to recruit the Sioux, and whatever Winnebagoes were willing to join them. There were no Menomonees in that quarter. Mr. Burnett, taking John Marsh with him, went up the river about one hundred and thirty miles; and returned, before the 10th of June, with one hundred Indian warriors, of which eighty were Sioux, and twenty Winnebagoes, and fifty or sixty more were expected to join them. The Indians were placed under the command of Col. Hamilton, who, taking Mr. Marsh and an interpreter with him, proceeded to join the troops under Gen. Atkinson.

Col. Boyd employed Col. S. C. Stambaugh, who had recently been the Indian agent, to recruit the Menomonee Indians, who secured the services of Col. Ebenezer Childs, to collect them. Over three hundred were obtained for the service, who were divided into two companies; one commanded by Charles A. Grignon, the other by George Johnson, and both under command of Col. Stambaugh. These Indian allies proceeded to join the pursuing troops. At Blue Mounds they learned that Black Hawk with the main body of his followers had crossed the Wisconsin, and that Col. Dodge and his command were in pursuit. They, therefore, went directly to Prairie du Chien. Before reaching there, they learned that a part of the Sauks and Foxes had gone south. They found the trail, and pursued with one company, and overtook the fugi-

tives about fifteen miles north of Cassville, not far back from the Mississippi. There were only two men and a boy, three or four women, and as many children. The Menomonees killed the two men, and the others were taken prisoners.

On the 6th of June, James Aubrey was killed at the Blue Mounds, and two weeks later Force and Green lost their lives by the enemy at the same place. It is probable that Aubrey was murdered by the Winnebagoes, as there is no reason to suppose the Sauks and Foxes had been near the Blue Mounds as early as the time of his death, and the murder of Force and Green was more likely the work of the Winnebagoes than of the Sauks and Foxes.

On the 14th of June, five men whose names were Spafford, Spencer, McIlwain, Million, and an Englishman called John Bull, were at work in a cornfield owned by Spafford, situated on the Peckatonica near Spafford's Ford, in what is now the town of Wayne, when they were surprised by a band of Indians, and all except Million, who most miraculously escaped, were murdered. The Indians stealthily pursued their way to a place of concealment within four hundred yards of Fort Hamilton, at which place Capt. Gentry's command of mounted men had by order of Col. Dodge, rendezvoused for the purpose of pursuing and killing them. On the morning of the 16th, at about eight o'clock as Col. Dodge was approaching the fort to take command of the troops, he heard three guns fired, which proved to be from the hostile Indians, who were lying in ambush, and who killed, in his saddle, a German named Apple, who was preparing to join in the pursuit, and whom they butchered and scalped. Col. Dodge immediately ordered the mounted men under arms in pursuit of the savage foe. Fortunately they were enabled soon to come upon the Indian trail, and after running their horses about two miles they came in sight of the retreating enemy, who were seeking the low ground where it was difficult to pursue them on horseback. The Indians directed their course to a bend in the Peckatonica covered with a deep swamp, which they reached before their pursuers crossed the stream.

The following account of the action, which for daring bravery

and cool undaunted courage, is not excelled in the history of Indian warfare, is from the official report of General Dodge to Gen. Atkinson :

"After crossing the Peckatonica, in the open ground, I dismounted my command, linked my horses and left four men in charge of them, and sent four men in different directions to watch the movements of the Indians. I formed my men on foot at open order, and at trailed arms, and we proceeded through the swamp to some timber and under-growth where I expected to find the enemy. When I found their trail, I knew they were close at hand. They had got close to the edge of the lake, where the bank was six feet high, which was a complete breast-work for them. They commenced the fire, when three of my men fell, two dangerously wounded, one severely but not dangerously. I instantly ordered a charge on them made by eighteen men, which was promptly obeyed. The Indians being under the bank, our guns were brought within ten or fifteen feet of them before we could fire on them. Their party consisted of thirteen men. Eleven were killed on the spot, and the remaining two were killed in crossing the lake, so they were left without one to carry the news to their friends. The volunteers under my command behaved with great gallantry. It would be impossible for me to discriminate among them. At the word 'charge,' the men rushed forward, and literally shot the Indians to pieces. We were, Indians and whites, on a piece of ground not to exceed sixty feet square."

The precise spot on which this terrific battle occurred is section eleven, town two, range five, east, in the town of Wiota.

Col. Hamilton arrived, with the friendly Sioux Indians, about an hour after the battle; and some Winnebagoes, who professed to be friendly came with them, among whom was the chief Dekauray. The friendly Indians went to the ground where the Sauks were killed. They scalped them, and literally cut them to pieces, and appeared to be delighted with the scalps.

On the 18th of June, while a company under the command of Capt. Stephenson were engaged in scouting, three of his men were killed and himself wounded by Indians near the Peckatonica, among whom Black Hawk was said to have been present.

On the 24th of the month, Black Hawk, with a large body of Indians, made an attack on Apple River Fort, near the present vil-

lage of Elizabeth, which was vigorously defended. The battle lasted fifteen hours. The loss of the Indians was considerable; that of the whites one man killed, and one wounded.

In the *Life of Black Hawk*, dictated by himself, and edited by J. B. Patterson, of Rock Island, and undoubtedly authentic, Black Hawk gives the following account of his attack on this garrison :

“When we arrived in the vicinity of the fort, we saw four men on horseback; one of my braves fired and wounded a man, when the others set up a yell as if a large force was ready to come against us. We concealed ourselves. No enemy came. The four men ran to the fort and gave the alarm. We followed them and attacked the fort, and killed one man who raised his head above the picketing to fire at us. Finding that these people could not all be killed without setting fire to their houses and fort, I thought it more prudent to be content with what flour, provisions, cattle and horses we could find, than to set fire to their buildings, as the light would be seen at a distance, and the army might suppose we were in the neighborhood, and come upon us with a force too strong. Accordingly we opened a house and filled our bags with flour and provisions, took several horses and drove off some of their cattle.”

Black Hawk in this marauding raid was accompanied by about two hundred of his warriors. The next day, on their return to Rock River, the savages met Major John Dement (now residing at Dixon) in command of a spy battalion, near Kellogg's Grove. A severe contest ensued, in which five whites were killed, and three wounded, while nine Indians were left dead on the field, and five others carried away.

Black Hawk in his *Life* gives the following account of this engagement:

“We started in a direction towards ‘sun-rise.’ After marching a considerable time, I discovered some white men coming towards us; we concealed ourselves in the woods, and when they came near enough, we commenced yelling and firing and made a rush upon them. About this time, their chief, with a party of men, rushed up to rescue the men we had fired upon. In a little while they commenced retreating, and left their chief and a few braves, who seemed willing and anxious to fight. They acted like braves; but were forced to give way, when I rushed upon them with my

braves. In a short time the chief returned with a large party. He seemed determined to fight, and anxious for a battle. When he came near enough, I raised a yell, and firing commenced from both sides. The chief (who seemed to be a small man) addressed his warriors in a loud voice; but they soon retreated, leaving him and a few braves on the battle-field. A great number of my warriors pursued the retreating party, and killed a number of their horses as they ran. The chief and his few braves were unwilling to leave the field. I ordered my braves to rush upon them, and had the mortification of seeing two of my chiefs killed before the enemy retreated. This young chief deserves great praise for his courage and bravery; but fortunately for us, his army was not all composed of such brave men. During this attack we killed several men and about forty horses, and lost two young chiefs and seven warriors."

On the 29th of June, three men were attacked in a field near Sinsinawa Mound, two of whom, John Thompson and James Bogley, were killed, while the Indians, though pursued by Captain Stephenson, made their escape by crossing the Mississippi in a canoe. These Indians were probably a straggling party of Sauks, as the principal body had already returned with Black Hawk to Rock River.

During the months of May and June the number of settlers who fell victims to the merciless warfare of Black Hawk and his followers, was probably not less than fifty. But by the early part of July, such was the organization and vigorous pursuit by the whites of all straggling bands of marauders, that the great mass of the Indians were concentrated upon Rock River, above Lake Koshkonnong, at the outlet of which Gen. Atkinson was now encamped, and where he had been joined by Gen. Alexander's brigade.

While Major Dement was engaged with Black Hawk at Kellogg's Grove, he sent an express to General Posey at Dixon for relief, who marched with his whole brigade for that purpose; but did not arrive until after the retreat of the Indians. Gen. Posey awaited the arrival of his baggage wagons, and then proceeded with his brigade to Fort Hamilton, where he was met by Colonel Dodge with his entire command of mounted volunteers. In pursuance of the plan of the campaign, as formed at headquarters at Ottawa, on the 17th June, these two commands composed the left wing of the army. General Alexander's command formed the cen-

ter, and General Atkinson, with General Henry's brigade, formed the right wing, and advanced up Rock River.

The left wing marched across the country by the way of the Peckatonica battle-ground, and Sugar River, to the first of the Four Lakes, being reinforced at Sugar River by the Galena company of volunteers. At the First Lake they were joined by White Crow and about thirty Winnebago warriors, who avowed their purpose of showing the path of the Sauks to the pursuing army.

Some dissatisfaction existing between Colonel Dodge's command and General Posey's brigade, a change of position was made, whereby General Alexander's command was associated with Colonel Dodge's, while Posey's brigade took the place of Alexander's.

The left wing as re-organized then moved up the right bank of Rock River, accompanied by their volunteer guides, the Winnebagoes. Having marched two days, until Rock River was reached a short distance above the mouth of Bark River, they retraced their steps in consequence of an express from General Atkinson, and crossed Rock River below the mouth of Bark River, where is the present village of Fort Atkinson. Here they met General Atkinson.

At this time, and at General Atkinson's encampment, Captain Charles Dunn, subsequently appointed chief justice, on the organization of the Territory of Wisconsin, four years later, while acting as officer of the day, and going around to relieve the guard, was accidentally shot by one of the sentinels, and dangerously wounded. He was so disabled as to be compelled to return home, and was conveyed to Dixon by an escort.

It appeared subsequently, by discovery of the trail and other evidences, that a considerable ambush had been formed on the east bank of Rock River, at a point where the left wing would have been obliged to cross the stream. White Crow had been anxious that Colonel Dodge and General Alexander should continue their march up the river, where they had been re-called by General Atkinson; and it was supposed that this treacherous Indian was acting in concert with Black Hawk, and was guiding the army to this point. This suspicion was strengthened by his conduct at the Blue Mounds at the time of the surrender of the Hall girls.

The Indians, in the meantime, finding themselves closely pressed by the advancing troops, had pushed on up the river, evidently,

more anxious to escape their pursuers than to make war upon them.

General Atkinson being short of provisions, now dispatched Dodge's command of about two hundred and fifty men, together with Henry's and Alexander's brigades, to Fort Winnebago for supplies, and General Posey's brigade was ordered to the mining region for the protection of the forts and settlements in that quarter.

The detachment arrived at the fort on the second day without casualty, and secured the requisite supplies. Colonel Dodge, finding a large number of Winnebagoes at the fort, and the faithful Pauquette, the interpreter, with whom he was well acquainted, and in whom he had the utmost confidence, at once set to work to find out from them the position of the Sauks and Foxes. He soon learned that they were encamped at the rapids of Rock River, since known as Hustisford. To return by this route would require a divergence to the east of more than thirty miles from the route by which they had come. A council of the officers was held. General Alexander objected that the divergence would be a violation of General Atkinson's orders, which required the detachment to return *immediately*. Colonel Dodge insisted that as there was no route specified in the orders, they might return by any route they should deem proper. General Henry concurred in this opinion, and he and Colonel Dodge agreed to return by way of the rapids, while Gen. Alexander was to return with the supplies, by the route they had all come.

The worn down horses were sent home, and the forces thereby reduced, so that the effective men which went to the rapids was about seven hundred, accompanied by Pauquette and twelve Winnebagoes as guides. The command reached its objective point on Rock River on the third day; but no indications of the Indians of whom they were in pursuit were found, except some trails that appeared to be several days old. An express was immediately started to go to General Atkinson, which, after proceeding a few miles down the river, found a fresh trail, evidently bearing towards the Wisconsin River, and immediately returned and reported their discovery. Early the next morning the pursuit of the Sauks and Foxes was commenced on this trail; the express was again sent to General Atkinson, but this time it did not return. The pursuit

was rapid and persevering until it reached the Catfish, near its entrance into the Third Lake, where the force camped the second night from Rock River. Many Indians were now discovered by the scouts, and the main body of them were on the peninsula between the Third and Fourth lakes, at the time their pursuers were encamped on the Catfish.

In the morning of the 21st, the pursuit was continued over the ground where the city of Madison is now located, with occasional glimpses of straggling Indians—one of whom was shot near the present capitol, and left dead—until about five o'clock in the afternoon of that day, when the bluffs of the Wisconsin were reached, together with Black Hawk and his retreating band, preparing to cross the river with their women and children.

When the army arrived, the Sauks and Foxes were in the low grounds which skirt the river. The immediate commands of Colonel Dodge and Colonel Wm. L. D. Ewing were in advance of the main army, and on their arrival at the bluffs, they were met by Captain Dixon's spy company, which had preceded them, with information that the Indians were in sight. These two commands having dismounted, formed the line, and advanced to the edge of the bluffs, where they were met by the Indians, who were in pursuit of the spy company. The battle began, and the Sauks and Foxes were repulsed. The position of the advanced commands was maintained under a heavy fire for about an hour, when Colonel Henry's brigade arrived, which deploying to the right and left, formed the line of battle, leaving Colonel Dodge's command in the center. A general charge was now made upon the Indians, in which many of them were killed, and the balance driven into the bottoms of the Wisconsin, where the tall grass was reached, which was wet, and concealed the Indians, and it being nearly dark, the pursuit was continued no further.

The battle began about five o'clock in the afternoon, and about sundown the firing on both sides had mainly ceased. The American loss was one killed, and eight wounded. The loss of the Indians was sixty-eight killed in the battle,* and a great many

* Black Hawk acknowledged no such destruction of his warriors; but the truth is, he was in no situation to know with any certainty the extent of the losses he and his people sustained.

were afterwards found dead, on the north side of the Wisconsin River, on the route to the Bad Axe. The number of wounded is unknown. This engagement has ever since been known as the Battle of the Wisconsin Heights.

The morning of the morrow disclosed that the Indians had all crossed the Wisconsin River, and disappeared. The army marched to the Blue Mounds, where Colonel Dodge's command, being all near their homes, with worn out horses, were temporarily dismissed to their respective posts, until again called to active duty.

Expresses were sent to General Atkinson and to Prairie du Chien, and it was a few days before the army could again be brought together to continue the pursuit. General Atkinson with his army marched by way of the Blue Mounds to Helena. Here the volunteers under Colonel Dodge were again assembled, and the whole army crossed the Wisconsin, and soon discovered the trail of the retreating Indians. On the 2d of August—the twelfth day after the battle of the Wisconsin Heights—the army came up with the entire body of the Indians, near the mouth of the Bad Axe, about forty miles above Prairie du Chien. A steamboat, the "Warrior," had also been sent up the river, armed with a six-pounder, to prevent their escape across the Mississippi. Thus surrounded, the Indians fell easy victims, and the battle soon terminated in the total destruction of a very large portion of Black Hawk's followers, men, women and children, and the capture and dispersion of the remainder.

General Atkinson's official report states the loss of the regulars at five killed and four wounded; of the Illinois volunteers at nine killed and wounded, and in Henry's brigade seven killed and wounded; and this, the final engagement of the Black Hawk War, is known to this day as the Battle of the Bad Axe.

Most of the Sauks and Foxes who got safely across the Mississippi, including women and children, were pursued and killed by their implacable enemies, the Sioux. For the proud and haughty Black Sparrow Hawk, as he called himself, it was too degrading and humiliating to submit as a prisoner, therefore instant flight became his last and only alternative. He hastily retreated to a neighboring height, accompanied by his faithful adjunct, the

Prophet; and giving vent to a loud long yell of revenge, he hastily fled to seek a temporary refuge among his *pseudo* friends, the Winnebagoes, in the valley of the Lemonweir—over the bluffs and cliffs of which he had in former days roamed in security, and hunted with success.

A large reward had been offered for the capture of Black Hawk, and he found now, when he most needed their friendship, that the Winnebagoes were in no way disposed to sympathize with him in his adversity. The fugitives pursued their lonely retreat to the Dalles of the Wisconsin River, and were there captured about two miles above Kilbourn City, by Chaetar and the One-eyed Decorra, who afterwards brought them to Prairie du Chien, on the 27th of August, and delivered them as prisoners to General Street, the Indian agent.

In addition to the regular forces under General Atkinson, General Scott with nine companies of artillery was ordered from the sea-board to the scene of hostilities. These troops left Fortress Monroe on the 20th of June, and arrived at Fort Dearborn on the 8th of July. But the conflict was over before they reached the scene of action. They, however, encountered a more fatal foe. The Asiatic cholera, which for the first time visited America, coming by way of Montreal, seized the troops at Detroit on their way to Chicago. The camp became a hospital, and more than four hundred of these soldiers fell victims of this terrible pestilence.

The loss on the part of the Americans in the Black Hawk War, independent of the ravages of the cholera, and the murders of the settlers, is believed to have been about fifty. The loss of the Sauks was not less than two hundred and thirty killed in battle, and probably a greater number who died of their wounds, and of disease and starvation; while the deaths of the women and children who accompanied the warriors, in the battles, and from their wounds, and by disease, starvation and drowning, cannot be approximately estimated.

The companies of volunteers under the immediate command of Colonel Dodge, at the battle of the Wisconsin Heights, were Captain Stephenson's, from Galena; Captain Clarke's, from White

Oak Springs; Captain Gentry's, from Mineral Point; Captain Parkinson's, from Fort Defiance; Captain Jones', from Blue River; and Captain Dickson's, from Platteville. Lieutenant Charles Bracken was adjutant of the battalion, and aid to Colonel Dodge. Black Hawk knew and feared Colonel Dodge, and said, "If it had not been for that chief, Dodge, 'the hairy face,' I could easily have whipped the whites; I could have gone anywhere my people pleased in the mining country."

Black Hawk was sent as a prisoner from Prairie du Chien to Jefferson Barracks under charge of Lieut. Jefferson Davis—then in the United States army at Prairie du Chien, and thirty years later, president of the Confederate States. Black Hawk was kept a close prisoner until April, 1833, when he was taken to Washington, together with some of his family, and the Prophet. After an interview with President Jackson and being emphatically told by him that the government would compel the red men to be at peace, they were sent as prisoners to Fortress Monroe, for "levying war," as Davis was, thirty-two years later, for the same offense. On June 4, 1833, by order of the president, Black Hawk and his fellow prisoners were liberated and sent home, under officers appointed to conduct them through the principal cities of the Union, in order to impress them with a proper sense of the power of the whites, and of the hopelessness of any conflict, on the part of the Indians, with the government of the United States. Black Hawk ever after remained quiet. He died October 3d, 1838, and was buried on the banks of the Mississippi, in the State of Iowa, near the head of the Des Moines Rapids, where the village of Montrose is located.

This was the last of the Indian wars upon the soil of the present State of Wisconsin.

Wisconsin in 1818

By Edward Tanner*

Mr. Edward Tanner, brother to John Tanner, respecting whom we published a communication last week, was, by the Hon. A. B. Woodward, introduced to the Lyceum of this city at its sitting of November 12, 1818. Mr. E. Tanner had traveled from St. Louis, by way of Prairie du Chien and Green Bay, to this place; and Messrs. Woodward, Rowland, and Shattuck were appointed a committee to wait on him, and obtain such information relative to the soil, climate, and statistics of the country through which he passed, as he was prepared to give. The following is extracted from the report of the committee:

Mr. Tanner left St. Louis on the 15th of August last, in company with the agent of the Sauk Indians, and arrived at the village of Prairie du Chien, about 560 miles nearly north from St. Louis, on the 10th of September. On the 13th, he left Prairie du Chien and descended the Mississippi River four miles, to the mouth of the Wisconsin, and ascended that river to its portage, about 200 miles; course generally northeasterly. He arrived on the 29th of September, and drew his canoe across the portage, a mile and a quarter, to the Fox River; on the 22d, he descended the Fox River to Green Bay, where he arrived on the 29th of September. He sailed from that place, on board the "Widow's Son," and arrived at Mackinac on the 31st. The 4th of November he sailed from Mackinac, and on the 10th arrived at Detroit.

From St. Louis to Prairie du Chien the Mississippi is generally bordered by low banks, with bottoms from a half mile to four miles wide, subject to inundation. These bottoms are composed in part of prairies, covered with high grass or marshes, and in part with land heavily timbered with walnut, black and white sugar tree, mulberry, ash, and oak of all kinds. These possess a soil of the most luxuriant kind. The land approximating the bottom is generally hilly, and sometimes abounds with high cliffs of rocks.

* Originally published in the *Detroit Gazette*, January 8th and 15th, 1819. See p. 475, *post*, for additional data.

After ascending these hills, the interior of the country is principally a vast extended prairie. Opposite to Fort Edwards, it is thirty miles wide, and to the north and south, bounded only by the powers of vision, the soil is good and ready for cultivation. The Mississippi is generally from three-fourths of a mile to three miles wide, interspersed with numerous islands clothed with the richest growth of timber, but subject to inundation. The river is no time so low as not to afford water sufficient to float crafts drawing four feet of water. There are two rapids in the river between St. Louis and Prairie du Chien, the first ten miles above Fort Edwards; the second commences at Fort Armstrong and continues about fifteen miles; but neither of them materially obstructs navigation. On the Mississippi about ninety miles from Prairie du Chien, and seven miles from the west side of the river, is a lead mine which is worked by the Fox Indians. The women dig the ore, carry it to the river where they have furnaces, and smelt it. The mine is called De Buke's [Dubuque's] and is very rich and productive. The Indians have lately discovered another in the vicinity, only four feet below the surface, and said to be rich. So deeply rooted is the jealousy of the Indians, that they allow no trader to build his hut on the side of the river in the vicinity of these mines.

The first tribe of Indians after leaving St. Louis is the Ojibways.* This tribe live about one hundred miles from the west side of the Mississippi, on the Menomonee, and have about four hundred warriors. The next tribe are the Sauks, who live on the Mississippi, and about four hundred miles above St. Louis. They emigrated from the Ouiseconsin about thirty-five years ago. Their military strength is about eight hundred warriors, exclusive of old men and boys, and are divided into two divisions of four hundred men. Each division is commanded by a war chief. The first are those who have been most distinguished for deeds of valor, and the second the ordinary warriors. They have also two village chiefs who appear to preside over the civil concerns of the nation. The next tribe is the Fox Indians. This tribe have a few lodges on the east side of the Mississippi near Fort Armstrong,

* Ioways.

and about four miles from the Sauk village. Thirty miles above this, at the mine De Buke, on the west side, they have another village, and another on Turkey River, thirty miles below Prairie du Chien. Their whole military strength is about four hundred warriors. They are at this time in a state of war with the Sioux; and as the Sauks are in strict amity with the Fox Indians, and have the influence and control of them, they are also drawn into the war. This war was in consequence of depredations committed by the Fox Indians on the Sioux.

Prairie du Chien, on which the village of that name stands, is a handsome plain, about half a mile wide from the bank of the river to the bluff or commencement of the rising ground, and out of danger from inundations. In consequence of the serpentine course of the river, the plain widens above and below the village. The soil is a black sand about fifteen inches deep, appearing to be very productive. The foundation is gravelly, containing amber stones susceptible of a handsome polish. Timber is scarce. The upland in the vicinity is very broken, poor, and nearly barren. In the settlement are about fifteen hundred inhabitants, exclusive of the military, who are principally Creoles. As a place of business, it now appears on the decline.

The river Ouisconsin is about half a mile wide—common depth one to four feet—no falls, but generally a brisk current. The channel is subject to change, from the numerous bars of sand which lie in it, and frequently alter their position. In the river are numerous islands, on which grow the principal timber of the country. The banks are generally low and sandy—some plains lined with the common granite stone. The bordering country is very broken, sandy, and barren. In the interior, as far as Mr. Tanner could learn from his companions, the same description will answer. Barren, broken, and destitute of vegetation, few places can be found that will admit of settlements. The Winnebago Indians inhabit the country bordering on the tributary streams on both sides of the river. They appear to go abroad for their game, and have no conveniences for dwelling, except a kind of lodges which they carry with them wherever they go. Their territory extends from the Mississippi to the vicinity of Green Bay, and the number of their warriors is seven hundred.

At the portage between the Ouisconsin and Fox rivers, canoes and boats are drawn over a level, rich prairie, but so much subject to inundation that during high water canoes have been known to pass from one river to the other without obstruction. The land being perfectly level, and there being nothing to obstruct excavation, Mr. Tanner thinks that the two rivers might be united by a canal of only one mile in length, the greatest depth of which need not exceed seven feet. At this prairie the Fox River does not exceed sixty feet in width, and is usually from three to ten deep, has little current, and is full of a thick growth of wild rice. It abounds with some geese and an immense quantity and variety of ducks. This river passes through a low country of prairie, usually a sandy barren, and is almost destitute of timber, till, passing down the river, you arrive at Ox Lake,* a distance of about fifty miles. This lake is twelve miles long and one and one-half broad. The river becomes a little wider at the lower end of the lake. Mr. Tanner relates the following curious ceremony, performed by the Winnebago Indians who were in company with him:

Near the lower extremity of the lake is a small river, called Devil's River, which discharges itself into Fox River. As soon as the canoe approached in sight of it, the Indians dropped their paddles, and one of them commenced speaking apparently in the form of a prayer, and continued until they came opposite the river, when they strewed the surface of the water with tobacco, feathers, painted hair, and other articles by them considered valuable. After which, they chanted a kind of hymn and then resumed their paddles. Mr. Tanner was informed by a half-breed, who was in company, that this ceremony was a sacrifice to the evil spirit, to propitiate and secure his favor. Other religious ceremonies, which are frequently performed by the Umbago† Indians, are various kinds of smoking. These ceremonies are performed by puffing volleys of smoke towards the object they wish to adore—to the sun, because he gives them light and heat—to

* Buffalo Lake, Marquette County; and Devil's River, referred to, is now known as Duck Creek, the mouth of which is at Montello. L. C. D.

† Doubtless Winnebagoes. L. C. D.

the moon, because of the benefit of her light in the night, and because they suppose she influences vegetation—to the earth, because it gives them support—to their hands, because with them they obtain it—to their feet, because of their use in transporting them from one place to another—to the fire, because of its benefit in cooking their provisions, and giving them warmth in winter—to the good spirit, for providing all things necessary for their benefit—to the evil spirit, to appease his anger.

Mr. Tanner states that above the Ox Lake there are occasionally some high lands which, compared with the surrounding country, and viewed at a distance, resemble islands. On the south side of the Lake, the lands are high, tolerably well timbered, and apparently capable of admitting settlements. On the other side, the lands are low, and covered with lofty timber. The growth is oak, hickory, and aspen. Twelve miles from this, he came to the Rush Lake,* about ten miles long and two broad. In passing down this Lake, the lands on either side appeared considerably elevated, and the timber increased in size and quantity. Great numbers of Winnebago and Menomonee Indians were employed in gathering wild rice† on the rivers and lakes. The river gradually grows wider. In about fifty miles, the Wolf River intersects, on which a part of the Chippeway tribe reside. Five miles below this, is what is called the great "Death Ground."‡ It derived its name, as Mr. Tanner was informed, from the circumstance that about the year 1750 a great battle was fought between the French troops, assisted by the Menomonee and Ottawa Indians, on one side, and the Sauk and Fox Indians on the other. The Sauk and Fox Indians were nearly all cut off, and this proved the cause of their eventual expulsion from that country. At this place, the Death Lake, larger than either of the others which he had passed, commences. Here Mr. Tanner left his canoe, being informed that the distance

* Puckaway Lake.

L. C. D.

† Wild rice grows about four feet above the water, and has ears from three to five inches long. The kernel is about three-fourths of an inch long, of a dark slate color, and used by the Indians as a substitute for bread. They gather it by rowing their canoes by the side of it; and, after bending the ears into the canoe, beat the rice off. After the canoe is full, it is rowed to the shore; the rice is spread on blankets, and, when dry, is beaten till separated from the chaff. It is then winnowed and becomes fit for use.

‡ Big Butte des Morts.

from the Death Ground to the lower extremity of the Winnebago Lake was by land only eighteen miles, but by water was a voyage of two days. On this road the land is good, covered generally with a thin growth of timber, and interspersed with open prairies. The growth is various kinds of hickory and oak, with fine high grass. No springs were discovered. At Winnebago Lake, Mr. Tanner resumed his canoe. Seven miles below the lake, commences the rapids of Fox River. On the west side of the river, the bank is apparently about seventy feet high, but level after ascending it; on the east side, it is bordered with high hills, covered with timber of a luxuriant growth. At this place, the river falls perpendicularly five feet, and continues to be rapid about nine miles below. In this course are three principal falls which afford excellent mill sites. Below the last one are several French families. The river continues to increase in width; the lands become more level and, particularly on the east side, more open. From this place to Green Bay it is about fourteen miles. In the river there is usually a brisk current, in some places a rapid one. In its whole course the wild rice abounds. The lands on the west side of Fox River, in the vicinity of Green Bay, have a very rich and productive soil, resting on a foundation of red clay; on the east side, it is black and sandy, upon a gravelly bottom, and not so productive as the west. As an instance of the products of this soil, Mr. Tanner took the measure of a radish which grew in Col. Bowyer's garden, which was two feet five inches in circumference, and nineteen inches in length. The cord with which it was measured was shown your committee, from which this statement was taken. Lest some should doubt this unusual fact, Mr. Tanner has referred us to Col. Bowyer and the officers of the garrison for its proof. At the same place the produce of eight potatoes, planted in sixteen hills, was five bushels. Mr. Tanner states the fact of a regular tide at Green Bay. It falls from six o'clock to twelve, and rises from that time to six. This was known from his particular observation; its usual rise is fifteen inches. He also states the periodical rise and fall of the lakes once in seven years.

Reminiscences of the Northwest

By Mrs. Mary Ann Brevoort Bristol

The interesting reminiscences which follow, appeared originally in Col. E. A. Calkins' Milwaukee *Sunday Telegraph*, March 30th, April 27th, May 18th, and June 15th, 1879. They attracted the attention of the veteran, Gen. A. G. Ellis, who had been the writer's teacher at Green Bay—and both had long lost sight of each other. Gen. Ellis very gracefully wrote of his old pupil in the columns of the *Telegraph*: "Your correspondent, Mrs. Bristol, is very well remembered by the old settlers at Green Bay as Miss Mary Ann Brevoort. She was a very attractive young lady; with her symmetrical figure, her blooming countenance, sparkling black eyes, and genial smile, all adorned with graceful, courtly manner, she is not easily forgotten. Nay, it was not the 'young Indian,' only, who 'fell in love with her.' Not one, but many, of the young Americans contested the claim with the young Menomonee brave. But, to the best of my recollection, she escaped them all, quite heart whole to the last.

The old major, sociable and approachable enough in general, was entirely inaccessible as to his beautiful daughter. None of the young frontiersmen were familiar in his presence.

His daughter, in consequence, rather a recluse, had one amusement from which she would not be debarred—she was passionately fond of skating. As soon as the old Fox River was mirrored with ice, Miss Brevoort was among the first to prove its glacial qualities; and if she had been attractive in her walk on terra firma, she was perfectly bewitching with her skates, on the ice. So irresistible was she thought, that a couple of the young fellows considered it a fair challenge; and putting themselves on their irons, gave chase! The young enchantress appreciated the compliment, and entertained them coquettishly, dallying with them coyly for a few moments, but perceiving the intent of the foremost to cut her off from the open way home, put forth the utmost effort of her skill and strength, and left him like a flash of light, retreating to her father's castle before her admirer was awake to her movement." L. C. D.

I imagine myself in a house at Detroit one hundred and twenty-five years old. I refer to the old homestead, where my mother was born, married and died; to facts related to me by her, and

events that I have witnessed with my own eyes. The house is built of hewn pine logs, clap-boarded on the outside; all of the nails therein were made by hand, and very few at that; the frame of the roof is put together with wooden pins, from eight to ten inches long, and so much timber is used the garret looks like a barn or mill; with a number of snow-shoes, cannon balls shot over from Canada by the British, and ancient furniture—a table and chair which I have now in my possession. The chair was my mother's, in which she often sat by the deep window sills. The cross-beams upon which the floor rests, and which answer for ceiling, are about twelve or fourteen inches through; the walls have been whitewashed so often that you could take a knife and peel off the different layers as deep as six inches, which made it thick and warm; in fact, nothing ever froze; the laths were small poles split, with the smooth side to the logs, and the rounding side out to plaster upon, nailed diagonally; cellars were not known, everything in the shape of vegetables being buried in the ground, and it was hard work to get at it, after the earth was frozen.

The way the bread was made and baked, was like this: There was a large box, something like a chest with a cover, which had four legs for supporters, like a table; the dough was mixed at night; this chest was called in French, "*une huche*;" in the morning the dough was kneaded and moulded, placed on boards to rise.

A log house was about two hundred feet or more from the residence, in which there was an oven built of poles and clay; the oven was heated with just so much wood split very fine and burned to coals, which were burned out; it was then mopped with a mop and a pail of cold water, which left the oven warm and clean; the bread was carried there on the boards; it was placed on wooden paddles or shovels, and put in the oven, which had a sheet iron door and a wooden one over, that closed tight—what sport it was to carry it there; when baked, what a beautiful sight to look at, eighteen or twenty loaves of bread, all yellow as gold.

We had wooden churns and wooden water buckets, made

something like kegs of the present day; we had also a wooden yoke made to fit the shoulders and neck, with a piece of rope on each end, and a hook made of iron to hitch to the bucket, and every drop of water which we used, was carried from the river, no matter how far the house stood from it.

Every family had from two to three canoes, and thought nothing of paddling over to Canada. Many a time did I paddle a canoe across the Detroit River. The shore was not obstructed as it is now; the beach was covered with white sand, shells and stones; the banks were overhung with wild grapes, blackberry bushes, wild roses, etc.

Saving ice was an unknown thing in those days. The water was brought from the channel of the river, put in large jugs, and buried in the ground to keep it cool.

When the young men, members of the family, wished for fresh meat, all they had to do was to step back of the house at the edge of the woods where the Michigan Central road now passes, and kill a deer, put a rope around his neck and draw it home. In one of the rooms a large spike was driven, upon which they hung the deer to dress it; the spike is still in the beam. They thought nothing of dressing from four to five per week.

They also set traps to catch wolves, which were numerous, by digging a hole in the ground, about eight feet deep, and large enough to catch as many as possible at one time; they would place a door on top, and put fresh meat in the hole. The minute a wolf stepped on the door, it would tip, let him in and close up; another would come, he was served in the same way. In that way, they caught great numbers; each head brought a bounty; it was great sport, and money making business at the same time.

Chimneys were built the same as the ovens, with poles, straw, and clay, which when dry were solid and very hard.

All the washing was done in the river, by driving two stakes, and placing a piece across to hold the end of a plank or log, eight or ten feet long, the other end resting on the shore. Upon the end on the water, whoever washed, would sit on a stool, dip the piece in the water, rub on the soap, and pound with a short handled paddle called a "battois."

There were no matches in those days. The way a fire was produced, was to take a gun flint, a piece of punk (dry rotten wood), put the flint and punk together, and strike with a steel ring, and the sparks of the flint would set fire to the punk. During the War of 1812, it was dangerous; every one was afraid to have fire in the house. They had beeswax candles, lighted, and put in one of the water buckets covered with a piece of board, upon which some one would sit, during the presence of Indians, to keep it from them, their delight being to set fire to anything they came in contact with. Many a barn filled with grain, and all a poor family possessed, did my mother see burn, night after night. Often did forty or fifty Indians come in and ask for fire, but they were told there was no fire, while some member of the family was sitting on the bucket, with a lighted candle inside for use in case of an emergency.

The family had taken up the floor, dug a deep hole, and hidden all their valuables, clothing, furniture, silver plate, consisting of spoons, forks, goblets, cups, plates, platters, soup tureen, waiters, all of solid silver. The house was bare, and looked poverty stricken. My mother had two beautiful and lovely sisters, the hair of one a burnished gold color, and when she sat on a chair, it hung and covered the floor; she could not comb it herself; it required two persons, which she could well afford, as the family had colored servants.

My great-grandmother lived so long that she crept on the floor like a child. Sallie, the colored girl, used to take her in her arms and put her in bed. I remember poor old Sallie, when she was so aged she could hardly walk alone; she was well and tenderly nursed to the day of her death.

At that time, the ladies wore trails to their dresses, as they do now; elegant black satin dresses; trails lined with silk, which were carried on the arm; embroidered white silk hose and slippers, half and half of colored satin, for instance, the heel blue and the front white; buckles of diamonds or brilliants; others were covered with spangles.

One of my mother's sisters, Marie A. Navarre, was betrothed to a merchant of high standing, from Quebec. He went on a voyage

to China, and died while absent. She had many offers of marriage afterward from noted men; one from a German count, who would have made her a countess. But no; she remained true to the one she loved, and died in 1866, aged eighty-four years. She was a very brave woman. During the War of 1812, there were so many Indians in and about the homestead, "Brevoort Place," at Detroit, that she learned to speak their language, and made them love and respect her. They would often go upon the frontiers of Ohio or Indiana, perhaps forty or fifty warriors together, be absent two or three weeks, and return with their laurels, which consisted of human beings' scalps.

When they returned they were heard a great way off by the war-whoop. All were painted red around the mouth, a sign that they wanted blood to drink. They gave just so many whoops, for the same number of scalps. Some had long poles with scalps attached, generally those of the father, mother, and children who had been afraid and had cried. Those who were brave and did not cry, had their lives saved, faces painted, hair cut, feathers on their heads, and rode on horses. Once they came in, with a woman's scalp tied to a long pole; it had beautiful, long hair, with the comb; the father's scalp, and three little innocents' curly golden locks. Two persons were on horseback, who were brave. They had many scalps in their sacks. They would come in, sit on the floor, and make a grand display, scrape the scalps, and eat all the fat and stuff that came off. put them all on frames, and take them to their British father, who rewarded them amply.

In 1867 and 1868, when the water and gas pipes were laid, and the street paved in front of the old house—it was formerly called the river road, now changed to Woodbridge street—they found bones, remains of many Indians, and old Indian relics, such as red paint, vermilion, bunches of hair, pipes, stone axes, brass kettles, bottles, some filled with whisky just as dark as brandy—the best whisky ever drank, as the laborers said. No Indians were buried there in recent times. After my grandfather, Robert de Navarre, purchased of the Indians, they were permitted to bury their dead on the place, but not in the street. These relics, thus unearthed, were in the ground over a hundred

years. They also found silver brooches and silver bracelets, of which we have a number. When found, they looked like iron. There are also two large pear trees on the place, the seed of which was brought from France. They are over one hundred years old; the fruit is delicious; and they bear quite abundantly every year.

In those days, gentlemen wore knee breeches, made of black satin, silk stockings, brilliant buckles at the side, buckles of steel or silver on their shoes, and swallow-tail coats. No gentleman was admitted at a reception, unless he had slippers or pumps, gloves, and a swallow-tail coat. Some had breeches of white dimity, white ribbed goods; ladies made underskirts of the same. They wore white straw, home-made hats, with wide rims, lined with green satin, and a wide ribbon round the crown to match. Whoever had those were considered *distingué*. The waists of ladies' dresses were made like infants' dresses, very short, gathered at the top, and a band under the arms, skirts very narrow, cut goring, and trails very long, made of elegant silks. Wedding and ball dresses were made of white satin, overskirts of white lace or crape, covered with gold or silver spangles, lace and fringe to match. Some were trimmed with pearls, which were very fashionable at that time, strings of pearls, five or six strings, hanging below the knees—some were quite large; with ear-rings, brooches, and comb, all of pearls.

My father's ancestors came from Holland to New Amsterdam, now New York, as early as the year 1683, and purchased lands. Mynheer Brevoort owned a farm on the corner of Broadway and Eleventh street, also where the St. Denis hotel now stands. My father, Maj. Henry B. Brevoort, was born on Long Island, Jan. 13, 1775, nearly a year and six months before the declaration of independence.

My great-grandfather, on my mother's side, came from France, in the year 1682. He was of a noble family, and a man of great learning, was appointed, under the French Government, *Sub Délégué Notaire Royal*, at Detroit, on the first establishment of the colony. He married Madame Bourroir, by whom he had Catharine, who married Alexander Macomb, father of General Alexan-

der Macomb. His name was Robert de Navarre, and he was a lineal descendant of Henry IV, king of France. He purchased from the Chippeway Indians a tract of land, in other words, a farm of four acres (arpents) wide, and three miles deep, with the understanding that they could, and would, make it their home, whenever they came in from the wilderness. He would furnish them with blankets, cloth, tobacco, everything which was necessary to make them comfortable, and would also bury their dead whenever they desired it. Years afterward his eldest son, also named Robert de Navarre, who was my grandfather, built a house of hewn pine logs, which still stands, in the city of Detroit, and is one hundred and twenty-four years old, where my mother was born, married, and died. Four generations were born in that house. I have a piece of one of the logs which is in a state of perfect preservation.

I have more knowledge, perhaps, of Indian life and ways than a great many, because I had a good opportunity of seeing them. During the War of 1812, the Indians came, after Gen. Hull surrendered. All the citizens were taken prisoners, my father included, and he was very ill at the time. My mother begged on her knees of the British commander to let her husband remain, until such a time as his health would permit, and, after many supplications, her request was granted.

When the Indians came to take my father, and make a pack-horse of him, they had their wooden saddle, bridle, all of their sacks filled with their traps, to strap on his back, and make him get on his feet and hands (on all fours), and start for the woods. My mother's grief knew no bounds. What was to be done? She knelt and prayed to Almighty God to give her strength, and to save her husband, and to grant her prayer. She felt inspired, came forward, pointed to heaven, and spoke of their great Father the "Manitou." It frightened the cowards so they let fall their weapons, shook hands, and all said, "ta-yaw, ta-yaw," which means, great, brave. They were very angry with my grandfather because he allowed his daughters to marry American officers; they called them "Long Knives" (swords). My father belonged to the Second U. S. Infantry. The Indians swore vengeance on

the poor little ones—I was one of them, eighteen months of age. My mother kept me hidden in a barrel, up in the garret of the old house, and had the stairs taken down to keep them from going up. When I attained the age of ten years, I remember how they came to bury their dead, and took possession of the house. We gave them food, beds, etc.; we had to do it—it was the agreement.

In June, 1812, began the war with Great Britain, a war into which our country was forced by injuries, and aggressions which had exhausted forbearance; a war in which American skill and valor upon land, were more than equal to British prowess, and which upon the ocean, broke the charm of British invincibility; a war in which the American character attained a proud eminence, from which it is hoped and trusted, it may never descend. Major Brevoort was a man of the most dauntless courage; it was attested at the battle of Lake Erie, where he fought desperately, and was honorably mentioned by Commodore Perry in his dispatches. He fought hard and bravely, coming out of the engagement covered with blood, and begrimed with powder. I often heard my father relate that while fighting on the Niagara, a tall man stood behind him and dodged the shots, but just as he looked once too often, the shot took his head off. Father was almost blinded with the brains of the unfortunate man. He was an intimate, bosom friend of Commodore J. D. Elliott, who was also in the engagement on Lake Erie; in fact, it was by his good management that the fleet was rescued from destruction, and the capture of the British effected—in other words, the victory of Lake Erie secured.

My father received a medal from Congress for his services in the action, which is in the possession of the family, and they will hand it down to posterity from generation to generation. In this naval engagement on Lake Erie, Major Brevoort conducted himself with distinguished gallantry,* as the herein mentioned medal,

* Gen. Ellis adds these reminiscences of Major Brevoort's military services: "It was said—and we gave it full credit at Green Bay—that he distinguished himself in Perry's naval victory on Lake Erie: that at the reduction of the army after the War of 1812-15, only those were retained who had in some way distinguished themselves in the service; and, as such, he was early appointed to the Indian agency at Green Bay, and was, I believe, continued in government employment till his death."

and the copy of a government certificate, abundantly show. The *Detroit Gazette* of Feb. 21, 1823, introduces the subject of this medal and certificate in very complimentary terms. The certificate is in the following words:

NAVY DEPARTMENT,

January 2, 1823.

SIR: In compliance with a resolution of the Congress of the United States, the President directs me to present you with a silver medal, in testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress of your gallant conduct and services in the decisive and glorious victory gained on Lake Erie, on the 10th day of September, in the year 1813, over a British squadron of superior force.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

SMITH THOMPSON.

Capt. H. B. Brevoort,

late commanding marines on Lake Erie.

Commodore O. H. Perry was first cousin to the late Charles L.

Judge J. V. Campbell, in his able *Political History of Michigan*, thus testifies to Major Brevoort's important services on the memorable 10th of Sept., 1813: Commodore Perry "had received accurate information of the strength of each of Barclay's [British] vessels, through Major Henry B. Brevoort of the army. This gentleman, whose family resided in Detroit, was equally at home on the land and on the water, and was well known to all the old citizens of Detroit as one of the most transparently honest and single minded men, brave, intelligent, and one when he swore to another disappointed him not, though it were to his own hindrance. He rendered good service in the fleet as commander of marines on the Niagara; and the knowledge which he had obtained enabled Commodore Perry to plan the work of each of his vessels in advance, so that the general scheme was arranged the night before the vessels came out, although some changes became necessary when the time of action approached."

Commodore Perry, in his official report of his great victory, thus testified to Major Brevoort's good conduct: "Captain Brevoort, of the army, who acted as a volunteer in the capacity of a marine officer on board that vessel [the Niagara], is an excellent and brave officer and with his musketry did great execution."

The *Dictionary of the Army* gives the dates of Major Brevoort's successive military promotions: Appointed second lieutenant in Third Infantry, Feb. 16, 1801; retained on reduction of the army May, 1802, as ensign in Second Infantry; second lieutenant July, 1802; transferred to First Infantry, in 1804; first lieutenant, Nov., 1805; commanded the transports on Lake Erie; captain, May, 1811, distinguished in battle of Maguago against British, and Indians under Tecumseh, August 9, 1812; commanded marines, on board the "Niagara," in Commodore Perry's victory, September 10, 1813, for which he received a silver medal; major Forty-Fifth Infantry, April 15, 1814; disbanded, June, 1815; at the period of 1820-21, he was register of the land office of the Detroit district; and was subsequently appointed U. S. Indian agent at Green Bay."

It may be added, after Major Brevoort's return to Detroit, he had an appointment connected with the custom house; and died in that city, Jan. 30th, 1858, at the age of eighty-three years. His widow survived till the 26th December, 1868, when she passed away at the good old age of eighty-six.

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Bristol's (my husband's) mother; her maiden name was Lucy Perry Ball. Mr. Bristol was well known throughout the State of Michigan for his business abilities and qualifications.

At one time, early in the War of 1812, my father matured a plan for cutting out and destroying a British war vessel of eighteen guns, which was stationed in Detroit River, and which commanded the entire upper end of the lake, and was a great annoyance to the inhabitants. He obtained Gen. Hull's leave to carry out the enterprise, and accordingly built a floating battery, with which he intended in the night to push alongside of the vessel, and complete the desperate undertaking by boarding the vessel, and engaging in a hand-to-hand fight. Just as he finished the work of preparation, orders came from Gen. Hull not to carry it out. My father was greatly incensed, and it is said, went so far as to insult Gen. Hull, to whose orders as his superior officer, he was compelled to submit. Had he made the attempt, he would probably have succeeded; and had he succeeded, the surrender of Detroit would never have taken place. Among the company whom Major Brevoort had enlisted in his desperate enterprise was Judge Shubael Conant, and Col. H. I. Hunt.

In December, 1822, my father was appointed Indian agent, under President James Monroe, at Green Bay; and went there himself the next year. At that time there were no railroads or steamers. We left Detroit on the first of May, 1824, with a foot of snow on the ground; went up on the schooner "Andrew Jackson," and were twenty-two days making the trip: eleven days at anchor in the St. Clair River; would spend the time on shore picking up stones and shells; at last, on the 1st of June, we reached our new home. The flag was always raised at Fort Howard, the name of the military post, at the first sight of a vessel, which was invariably a great source of pleasure to all. There were no vehicles, except one two-wheeled affair, which was called a "gig," owned by Daniel Whitney. All the traveling and pleasure riding was in boats and birch bark canoes on Fox River. Fort Howard was located on the right as you left the Bay and entered the river. There were very few houses on that side, in fact not more than three or four. The village was on the opposite side, and

was so small it was called "Shanty Town." There was no church edifice; the meeting, as it was called in those days, was held in the school-house. There was not a hotel at either place.

On the 4th of June, Mrs. Curtis and a hired man were struck by lightning; the old soldier was washing and Mrs. Curtis stood near. She was a sister of Major Whistler, and left four or five children. Cadamus, the oldest boy, I met in school, little Irene I knew, afterwards Mrs. Rucker. The Ruckers were connected to the Maccomb family, of Detroit.

I remember well when the First United States Infantry were ordered away, late in the fall, to build Fort Winnebago. The officers had made extensive preparations for a lively winter; all were provided with splendid horses and elegant sleighs. The government anticipated trouble with the Indians when the order came. It was almost a death blow to our pleasures; many a tear was shed; the army officers were the life of the place.

At that time there was nothing between Fort Howard and Fort Winnebago but Grand Kaukaulin, where stood one house, occupied by Mr. Augustin Grignon, where I was invited to attend his daughter's wedding. She married Mr. Ebenezer Childs. Quite a large party attended. All came in a large boat called a batteau. The bride was dressed in white muslin; on the table for supper were all kinds of wild meat, bear, deer, muskrat, raccoon, turkey, quail, pigeon, skunk, and porcupine with the quills on. Her mother was an Indian woman; most of the old settlers were married to Indian women; splendid looking, clean and respectable. Some of their children had light hair, blue eyes, fine complexions; no one could tell that they had a drop of Indian blood; and all were well educated.

I remember well when Milwaukee was a wilderness, the Indians coming from there to the Green Bay agency on foot, clothed in the skins of wild animals. They came for ammunition, blankets, etc., and often was I called in the council chamber to smoke the pipe of peace, with my four brothers, younger than myself, and to listen to their speeches, which were interpreted by Richard Pritchett. It was a great delight to me to watch them cook. There was a log house with an immense fire-place, and iron crane

with iron hooks, upon which hung the kettles, holding a quarter of a barrel of pork, and one or two bushels of potatoes. Then, after taking out the head of a barrel of flour, they would make a hole by removing some of the flour, pour in a pail of water, make a great bunch of dough, put it on the soiled floor, roll it out in long rolls about two feet long, and large as a good sized rolling pin, and put it in the same pot. When cooked, it was dished up in wooden bowls; some had wooden ladles, and some wooden paddles. They would sit on the floor to eat their delicious repast. I was often invited to partake. They called my father, their father; of course I was their sister. A young Indian fell in love with me. He followed me everywhere. I will not attempt to describe his dress; it was too ridiculous.

My father remained at Green Bay six years; in that time I became well acquainted with the old settlers, Mr. Daniel Whitney, Grignon, Lawe, Irwin, Baird, Dickenson, Dousman, Ducharme, Martin Beal, Capt. Arndt, his sons Hamilton, Charles, and John, and his daughter Mary, who married Lieut. Cotton, of the United States Army. There I met General Winfield Scott, General Z. Taylor, with the famous Captain Martin Scott, who could shoot birds on the wing, ride his favorite horse, call out fifteen or twenty hounds, drive out into the woods and return with one or two deer; Col. Whistler, with his large family of daughters and two sons, his wife being a resident of Detroit, with whom I was intimately acquainted; Mr. A. G. Ellis, who was school teacher; Rev. Mr. Cadle and his estimable sister; Rev. Eleazer Williams, who married Miss Jourdain, whose father, Joseph Jourdain, was blacksmith of the agency. I have an iron fire shovel that Jourdain made.

I used to think that all Indians dressed alike. It was a mistake; each tribe dresses differently. The Foxes wore dressed deer skin, soft and white, one-half of their heads shaved clean, with a great bunch of cock's feathers on the top. The Sioux dressed in deer skin, colored black, worked with porcupine quills, their hair brushed up and tied on the top of their head in one large square cushion. The Winnebagoes had their blankets daubed with paint, and large rosettes of colored ribbons; hair in

two square cushions on the back of the head. The Chippewas and Menomonees dressed plainly, with nothing by which they could be distinguished.

Several Indian councils were held at Green Bay. They had a prophet; he wore a long black gown made of black silk handkerchiefs; another skin for a turban, with a red star in front. Young men who were in love wore cotton shawls of various colors, rattlesnake skins tied around their shoulders, bird feathers, small bells, claws of wild animals tied around their legs for garters. Every step they took, the bells jingled. A drum and flute were in constant requisition night and day, which was very annoying.

The young women were very modest; they covered their heads and faces in their blankets. It was very amusing for me to watch them court or make love. They had a peculiar way of expressing themselves by small bunches of sticks, something like a bunch of matches, which the man threw at the woman. If the love was reciprocated, she threw it back at him; if not, she walked away.

When the husband died, the wife arrayed herself in rags, painted her face black, with her hair down (by the way they all had beautiful long hair), and put a stick across the grave. She then jumped and ran away to the woods, returning at the end of one week, almost starved, the picture of despair.

The man does the same, and buries all the effects of the deceased with the remains; and taking a pan or dish of victuals, places it at the head of the grave. Sometimes the husband would cut his wife's nose close to her face, as a punishment for infidelity, so that no other man would fall in love with her. The wife would do the same to her husband; it was no uncommon thing to see them with a black plaster and bandage to cover the loss of the nose.

They are very superstitious and revengeful; they never forgave an injury. They never washed themselves, nor their clothing, but wore it until it dropped off.

On the 13th of July, 1827, the officers of Fort Howard gave a military ball. Lieut. E. Kirby Smith came for me in a small boat, there being no other mode of conveyance at that time, and

we enjoyed a row or sail on the river exceedingly; on this day the weather was very threatening, the clouds were black and heavy, thunder and lightning in the distance; for fear of not being able to attend in the evening, we started about four o'clock in the afternoon, and had about three miles to go, the Indian agency being about that distance from the fort. We arrived at the fort safely, and were received by Colonel Lawrence, who had command of the post, a very polite and agreeable gentleman, especially to the ladies; several ladies from Shanty Town had arrived early on account of the impending storm, which threatened to burst upon us at any moment; but notwithstanding, we had a delightful time, and a sumptuous repast was partaken of at the mess-house. We were all happy, and dancing commenced; the music was enchanting, and we danced until twelve o'clock without interruption. Just then a terrific storm came up, and put an end to our enjoyment. It lasted about an hour; then all was clear; the stars were peeping; the wind abated, and all was still again. We prepared ourselves to go home, the ladies from Shanty Town going in a large batteau. I was invited by the ladies of the garrison to remain all night; but no—home I must go, and home I did go. I had never been from home a single night in my life. Lieut. Smith and myself embarked in the little boat; it was so small it was called the "Pill Box."

When about half way home another storm came up very suddenly, the wind blew a gale, and we were on a sea of space, angry clouds burst asunder, revealing vivid streaks of fire; the weird, wild grandeur filled me with awe indescribable, the comingling elements roused to the highest, played pitilessly with us. Would we escape? The thoughts of my brave father, and the kind, tender mother watching and praying for me, gave me courage for what I thought surely inevitable. The rain fell in torrents, and the darkness was intense; wave after wave swept over us. Oh, God! the peril of that moment! The frail boat, its name fatally suggestive, the "Pill Box," rocked in the surf; speechless I waited—I knew not what. Lieut. Smith became very excited, arose to his feet, and, taking off his cap and coat, begged me with all the eloquence and ardor of a doomed man,

to leap into the angry waters and swim to shore. With superhuman strength I held him down; my face expressed the supplication to refrain, which my tongue refused to utter—believing that as long as I had the boat to hold on to, I was safe. In the confusion the rudder was lost, and the boat fast filling with water. The four brave soldiers, seeing that further attempts to control the boat were useless, let go the oars, took off their caps and boots with which to bail out the water, and prevent the boat sinking, at the same time feeling and knowing the imminent danger, assured me there was none, saying, “Do not fear, Madam, there is no danger.”

They afterwards said, at the time they assured me of safety they momentarily expected we would sink, and thanked me a thousand times for my presence of mind; the boat rocked to and fro, at the mercy of the waves. After being in the water three long hours, we drifted on a sand bar about two miles from home; the men were not slow in getting out to ascertain the depth of the water, which was waist deep. I was elegantly dressed, having a dress of figured lavender satin, trimmings of white satin and white lace, white kid slippers, white silk hose, white lace shawl, white kid gloves, longer than those worn at the present time, and a covering for the head called a “calash,” made of green silk and rattan, which could be folded flat, and pulled out over the face when worn, and answered as a parasol or bonnet; they were very fashionable at that time, but I have never seen the like since. Coming out of the water we landed in the mud, there being no sidewalks; we walked two miles; what a sight when I reached home, just as the sun was rising; the weight of the water had loosened the trimmings on my dress, and hung five yards behind me, black as the earth. My dear mother met us at the door, my escort bade me good morning, after being pressed to remain to breakfast, and mother said, “Go right up stairs, you do not know the danger you are in.” I wanted to tell her what had happened; she knew it all, she had seen me in imagination struggling in the angry waters for my life. She had not closed her eyes, and at times was almost frantic. After dancing and being overheated, then in the water three hours. I was chilled; the long walk saved

my life. The next day many called to ascertain whether we were saved or drowned, the boat, caps, boots and oars being found along the shore, but no lieutenant, nor young lady. Some time after the occurrence, Lieutenant Smith was ordered to Mackinaw.

When our family returned to Detroit, in 1829, the vessel stopped at Mackinaw. There I met Lieut. Smith, and we had a long chat, and a good laugh over our narrow escape, and he thanked me a thousand times over for my presence of mind and composure, which was the saving of our lives. We proposed a walk and had another adventure, after cutting our names on a tree near the Arch-rock, we walked over the arch and came very near going into the deep water once more; that was the last of our most pleasant acquaintance—we never met again. He went to the Mexican War, in which he distinguished himself, particularly at Cherubusco, and was mortally wounded at El Molino Del Rey.

Gen. Hugh Brady was there at the Bay, while I was a resident of that place. He was an intimate friend of our family. He always entered the ball room in full uniform, silver spurs over his boots; he compared a lady in full dress to a ship in full sail. Going down in the center of the room, which was the custom then, in dancing what was called "country dances," fifteen or twenty couples, standing, ladies on one side, gentlemen opposite. Such beautiful tunes, such as "Monie Musk," "Two Sisters," "Two Dollars in my Pocket," "Cheat the Lady," "French Reel."

Lieut. Bean took me to singing school at the old home on the hill, one evening. I was in the sleigh seated on the back seat, all wrapped in robes; Lieut. Bean and a cousin of mine, Miss Rosalie Navarre on the front seat. The hill was steep, and the horses took fright and ran away. My companions became alarmed, and jumped out into the deep snow, but I remained in the sleigh, had a delightful ride of about two miles, over fallen trees, muskrat houses, and everything else, way across the river and back. I remained in the sleigh, perfectly quiet, remembering what my father often told me, never to attempt to jump on such occasions but remain quiet. The horses came back to the same place from where they started; and there were my two companions, lamenting and wondering whether they would ever see me alive or not.

Early Times at Fort Winnebago

By Satterlee Clark

The subject which I have selected for this paper, is the "Early History of Fort Winnebago and its Surroundings." To give proper understanding of the history, not only of the fort, but of the persons connected with it, it will be necessary to detail my early recollections, from my arrival in what is now the State of Wisconsin. On the 14th day of April, 1828, I landed at Green Bay, then considered a small French settlement. Fort Howard was then situated near where the passenger depot of the C. & N. W. railroad now stands. On the opposite side of the river where the city of Green Bay is located, there was a wilderness. Three miles above on the river, was a small group of houses that could hardly be termed a village, but which was nevertheless called "Shanty Town." Residing there were several American families, among whom were Daniel Whitney, Henry S. Baird, Robt. Irwin, Alex. Irwin, Samuel Irwin, and quite a number of French and half-breeds. The fort contained three companies of U. S. Infantry, and was commanded by then Major, afterwards General Twiggs. The companies were severally commanded by Captain and his brother Major Buell, Captain Spence, and Captain, since General William Harney.

The same season, 1828, the 1st Infantry was ordered to the Portage to build a fort to be called Fort Winnebago. They were relieved at Fort Howard by four companies of the 5th U. S. Infantry under command of Col. William Lawrence. Previous to 1827 (the year of the Winnebago War under Red Bird, a Winnebago chief), the Indians had been in the habit of levying tolls on the goods of the American Fur Company, and others who were

obliged to unload to cross the portage. At the earnest solicitations of John Jacob Astor, who was then the head of the American Fur Company, the government concluded to erect a fort for their protection.

Major Twiggs then left for the portage, where he erected temporary barracks of tamarack logs in which to winter his command, and detailed a party to go up the Wisconsin, and procure pine timber with which to erect a permanent fort. Another party was detailed to quarry stone at what was called "stone quarry hill." With the first rise of water in the spring of 1829 the timber and logs were floated down to the portage, were hauled by teams to the fort, where all the lumber was sawed by hand with whip-saws, with which to build the entire fort. The brick necessary for the chimneys, fire places, etc., were burned just opposite the narrows on the Wisconsin River, a short distance above here.

Of the officers stationed at Fort Winnebago from 1828 till the 5th of July, 1831, only two survive, to-wit: General Wm. Harney and Lieut. Jeff Davis. Harney at that time was a captain, and Davis was his subaltern. Both were considered among the best officers in the service. I think it is conceded that for frontier service Captain Harney had no superior anywhere. There was no better disciplinarian, and no more indulgent officer to his men when their behavior was good. It has been said of him, by persons in civil life, that he was cruel to his men; but this was not true. He was, however, a terror to evil doers, whether soldiers or citizens. To give an idea of the man, he was over six feet in height, well proportioned, and exceedingly active and strong. I will relate an anecdote or two, which will give a more correct idea of his character.

Gen. Harney once took offense at an Indian, and determined to cowhide him; but was persuaded to give him "a chance for his life." He had him taken half a mile above the government wash houses on the bank of the river, gave him one hundred yards the start, with the agreement, that if the Indian passed the wash houses before he was caught, he should go free for that time. Pierre Pauquette gave the word, and away they went. Harney gained on him so rapidly that he seemed sure to overtake him.

There was a spot about two hundred yards from the wash house that only froze over in very cold weather, and opened again during the day. The night before was very cold, and this point had frozen over about half an inch thick. When they reached this point, Harney was just ready to put his hand on him, when the Indian, being quite light, crossed the thin ice safely. Not so, however, with the captain; he carried too many pounds, and down he went. He came to the surface at once, and called to a sentinel to shoot the Indian. The sentinel fired well and the ball struck the ice half a mile from the Indian. All the officers were on the bank witnessing the race, and of course were convulsed with laughter.

On another occasion it was necessary to punish the champion pugilist of the fort, a very large man named Hewitt. The man said to the captain, "If you were an enlisted man, or I was a captain, you could not treat me in that way." Harney took him out behind the barracks, told him to consider himself a captain, and do his best. Hewitt pitched at the captain furiously, when the captain knocked him down. This was repeated about a dozen times, when he said, "Captain, I have been a captain long enough to suit me, I would now like to be reduced to the ranks."

At another time Harney caught a citizen from the lead mines selling whisky to his men. He tied him up to the flag staff, and cowhided him with his own hand.

Neither Harney nor Davis were addicted to those habits that destroyed so many worthy officers, and it in some measure accounts for their being still alive.

In June, 1830, I was appointed sutler at Fort Winnebago, by General Jackson, who was then president. Being under age, I was obliged to farm the privilege out to Oliver Newbury, of Detroit; and as the sutler was required to remain at the post, I was employed by Mr. Newbury as clerk, devoting most of my time to the Indian trade. I arrived at Fort Winnebago on the 21st of July, 1830.

The Black Hawk War

The most interesting event since my advent into Wisconsin was what is known as the "Black Hawk War," the truthful history

of which has never been published, and I think the causes that led to it, and the incidents connected therewith, are known to very few people now living.

In 1831, in violation of a treaty stipulation, the Sauk and Fox Indians, under Black Hawk and the Prophet, crossed the Mississippi into Illinois. Black Hawk was a Fox Indian, and the Prophet was a Winnebago, who, with a small band, became discontented and left the Winnebagoes and joined the Sauk and Fox tribes, where they had intermarried, and became part of the same tribe. Gen. Atkinson was ordered to remove them. They offered to go back and remain for sixty thousand bushels of corn, and as corn was only five cents a bushel, he gave it to them and they retired.

The following summer, thinking to get sixty thousand bushels of corn quite easily, they again crossed the river, and again Gen. Atkinson was ordered to remove them. Instead of buying corn for them he ordered all the available troops into the field, and the president ordered out the Illinois militia under the command of Gen. Henry and Gen. Alexander, all under the command of Gen. Atkinson. The Indians started up Rock River, pursued by the troops, committing occasional depredations as they went along. After they got into Wisconsin the troops lost track of them, and Gen. Atkinson continued up Rock River to where the village of Fort Atkinson now stands, where he established his headquarters and built a temporary fort.

In the meantime, Black Hawk, learning from the Winnebagoes, who also promised to assist him, that only thirty men remained in Fort Winnebago, determined to burn it and massacre its inmates. They accordingly came and encamped on the Fox River, about four miles above Swan Lake, and about eight miles from the fort. Every possible means that could be devised was adopted to protect the fort, and save the lives of the inhabitants, most of whom were women and children; but after all had been done that was possible, the commanding officer concluded that without reinforcements we would be lost, and determined to send to Gen. Atkinson for troops. I was selected for that duty for several reasons; among which was my thorough acquaintance with the

country, and another was the probability that the Winnebagoes would not harm me.

Every day some Winnebago would come to me and advise me to go at night and stay in his wigwam, where he said I would be safe. At nine o'clock at night I left the fort, with many a God speed you, armed with a small Ruggles rifle, my dispatches, a tomahawk, and bowie knife. I crossed the Fox River at a shallow point just above where the public stables used to stand, and keeping the Indian trail that led from here to White Crow's village* on Lake Koshkonong on my right, I traveled rapidly all night, walking up hill, and running down hill and on a level. I struck the trail several times during the night, but left it immediately as I feared some Indians might be encamped upon it, whose dogs would discover me before I would discover them. I arrived safely at the fort at half past 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and delivered my dispatches to Gen. Atkinson, who sent 3,000 men at once to relieve Fort Winnebago. I may add, that Fort Atkinson was constructed of log pickets, with loop-holes for musketry, with block-houses on the southeast and northwest corners, with about an acre of ground within the enclosure.

I slept till 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and then started on my return, following the trail of the mounted militia for twelve miles, when I passed them, and reached the head of a stream that used to be called Rowan's Creek, about twelve miles from the fort shortly after daylight; and fearing to go farther till night, I crawled into some brush and went to sleep.

As soon as it was quite dark, I left my hiding place and returned to the fort as near as possible by the route I left it, arriving between ten and eleven o'clock P. M. I reported that the troops were on the way, and would arrive next morning. We kept close watch all that night, and at 4 o'clock P. M. next day the troops arrived. It may surprise some of my readers, that I should travel so rapidly, and the mounted troops should be so long on the road; but you must recollect the marshes were very wet at that time,

* Mr. Clark writes, that White Crow's village was built in the usual style of lodges not wigwams, more like houses covered with white cedar bark: and contained a population of about 1,200 souls.

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that the whole country was a wilderness, and that when I jumped into a stream and waded through or walked across the marsh, the troops had to build bridges and causeways.

The war would have been ended within two days if the militia had been in condition to follow the Indians; but the horses needed rest and food, rations had to be issued to the men, and many of them were without a change of under-clothing, and it was absolutely necessary to wait at least one day at the fort.

The second night the horses took fright (probably at some Winnebago Indians), and there was a regular stampede. Probably some of my readers may not thoroughly comprehend a stampede; and it may be proper to describe it, if possible, though only an eye witness can properly appreciate how terrible it is. Some horse, or may be a few horses get frightened and start to run; the entire drove may see nothing to alarm them, but presuming there is danger, they fall into line, and once fairly under way nothing can stop them.

Those in front cannot stop without being run over, and those in the rear run to keep up. On this occasion several hundred horses started with a noise like thunder, running so close together that when one is so unfortunate as to face a tree he was either killed or so badly injured as to be unable to proceed, and was run over by the whole drove; so if a horse was unable to keep up he was knocked down and killed; between the bank of the Wisconsin and the point of land between there and the fort, thirty-seven horses were found dead. They took the trail they came on, and ran to the prairie, a distance of about sixteen miles, over sixty horses were killed, and it was late next day before those recovered were brought back.*

* In Wakefield's *History of the Sauk and Fox War* published at Jacksonville, Ill., in 1834, the following account is given of this stampede—the writer then serving with the Illinois troops: "Our horses were given to fright and running in a most fearful manner; and the army was constantly in danger of suffering great damage by their taking those frights. No one can tell what a horrid sight it is to see two thousand horses coming at full speed toward an encampment in the dead hour of night. This night—at Fort Winnebago—they got more scared than common. There were about three hundred on this night, that ran about thirty miles before they stopped; and that, too, through the worst kind of swamps. This circumstance caused us to stay here two days, trying to recover our horses; but all could not be found; our road back the way we had come was hunted for upwards of fifty miles and still a great number of them were missing."

This of course occasioned another delay, and it was not till the fifth day, that they left the fort in pursuit of the Indians.

The enemy, in the meantime, went to the Four Lakes where, as I learned later, they were advised to cross the Wisconsin and the Mississippi as soon as possible. A few reliable Winnebagoes under Peter Pauquette and myself were secured for scouts. We had no difficulty in following their trail, and gained upon them rapidly, overtaking them on the bank of the Wisconsin about twenty-five miles below, where the battle of Wisconsin was fought. That battle made many heroes, and so it should.

About one hundred and twenty half-starved Indians defended the pass against nearly three thousand whites, while the remainder of the Indians in plain sight were crossing the Wisconsin with the women and children, and as soon as these were safe, the Indians broke and ran. Then came the struggle for scalps. Every man who could run started down the hill at his top speed, my Indian scouts and myself far ahead of the militia, and I was about thirty feet ahead of them all. Just as I commenced raising the hill on the other side of the valley, Pauquette passed me on horseback; and as he went by I caught his horse by the tail and held on till we reached the top of the hill, where we found four dead Indians; Pauquette took one scalp, I took one, and the Indian scouts took the other two. The Indians lost four* killed all told, and the whites one. This ended the battle of the Wisconsin, about which so much has been written.

The Indians traveled as rapidly as possible to the Mississippi near the mouth of the Bad Axe River. I went home. Shortly after Capt. Alexander Johnson was ordered to take command of the regular troops, and endeavor to intercept the Indians, and prevent their crossing the Mississippi. A steamboat was sent up the river from Fort Crawford, commanded by Jeff. Davis. He drove the Indians back, and they were all killed or taken prisoners, except Black Hawk and the Prophet and their families, who crossed the river before the steamboat arrived.

* Black Hawk in his narrative, dictated to J. B. Patterson, says he had six killed. Mrs. Kinzie, in her *Wau-Bun*, says it was reported that fifty Sauks and Foxes lost their lives on this occasion; while Wakefield, in his *History of the Black Hawk War*, states the loss of the Indians at sixty-eight, and that twenty-five of their wounded subsequently died.

Gen. Winfield Scott offered a reward of \$2,000 for the capture of Black Hawk and the Prophet, which was earned by a Winnebago called Little Thunder.* All were then taken to Rock Island, where Gen. Scott had established his headquarters. From there the leaders were taken to all the large cities in the country, to show them how impossible it was for them to wage successful war against the whites. That ended the Black Hawk War.

I now come to that part of my recollections in which the people of Portage and the Fort Winnebago region, feel the greatest interest, and have the most curiosity. I allude to my acquaintance with Peter Pauquette. His strength was so immeasurable, and his exploits so astonishing, that while relating what I have seen I shall tell only the exact truth, I will promise not to be offended if some of my readers should be a little skeptical.

Peter Pauquette was born in the year 1800 of a French father and a Winnebago mother; the latter was buried nearly in front of the old agency house opposite the fort. He was thirty years old when I first knew him, and was the very best specimen of a man I ever saw. He was six feet two inches in height, and weighed two hundred and forty pounds—hardly ever varying a single pound. He was a very handsome man, hospitable, generous and kind, and I think I never saw a better-natured man.

I had heard much of his strength before I left Green Bay, and of course, was anxious to see him perform some of the wonderful

* As in the case of Hon. J. T. Kingston (vol. vii, page 332, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*), so here there appears to be an error in regard to the captors of Black Hawk. Traditions are valuable, when sustaining and elaborating historical documents written at the time, and upon the spot, by reliable men; but it will not be safe to set aside such written documents, and substitute traditions. Gen. Joseph M. Street, then Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, writes from that place August 27, 1832: "At 11 o'clock today, Black Hawk and the Prophet were delivered to Gen. Joseph M. Street by the One-Eyed Decorri and Chaetar, Winnebagoes, belonging to this Agency"—and then gives in full the address of Decorri and Chaetar, the latter claiming the chief merit of the capture, saying: "Near the Dalles on the Wisconsin, I took Black Hawk. No one did it but me—I say this in the ears of all present, and they know it—and I now appeal to the Great Spirit, our grand-father, and the earth, our grand-mother, for the truth of what I say." In a subsequent letter of September 3, Gen. Street adds: "The day after Gen's Scott and Atkinson left this place, I sent out two parties of Winnebagoes to bring Black Hawk, the Prophet and Neopope to me." Thus Little Thunder may have been with the unsuccessful party, and would perhaps speak of it subsequently in such a way as to convey the idea that he aided in the capture of Black Hawk—that is, searched for him, but probably did not mean to be understood that he actually captured him.

feats of strength of which I had heard. From my first acquaintance with him to the day of his death, I was his most intimate friend, and consequently had a better opportunity to know him than any other person. I will now endeavor to give an idea of his strength and activity, which to me seemed almost superhuman. He often told me that all persons seemed alike to him. When I was nineteen or twenty years old, my business kept me constantly in training, and though I weighed less than one hundred and fifty pounds, my muscles were like iron; notwithstanding he often said it was no more trouble to take me across his lap than a child one year old, and so it seemed to me. I was told that on one occasion when he was making the portage with a heavy boat, one of his oxen gave out, and he took the yoke off, and carried the end against an ox all the way over. I did not see this, but I asked him if it was so, and he replied it was.

I once saw him take hold of the staple to a pile driver weighing 2,650 lbs., and lift it apparently without any exertion, and swing it back and forth a minute of time. I have several times seen him get under a common sized horse, put his arms round the hind legs, his back under the horse's stomach and lift the horse clean off the ground. A great many other things I have seen him do which would tire the reader's patience were I to relate them. It can readily be imagined, however, that scarcely anything could be impossible to such a man.

He was employed by the American Fur Company up to the day of his death. For the last four years of his life he had a bookkeeper, but previous to that time (not being able to read or write), he gave credit to hundreds of Indians, relying entirely on his memory, and their honesty. Those who have been acquainted with the Indian character only since their association with the whites has degraded them, will be amused to hear of the honesty of the Indians; and I desire to do them the justice to say, that while they saw no impropriety in stealing from another and a hostile tribe, I never knew them to steal from a trader, or to refuse to pay what they owed him, till whisky was introduced among them by the worst class of whites. The women were especially honest and virtuous. Their marriage amounted

to the purchase of the daughter from the father, whether by an Indian or a white man; when as soon as the trade was made, the girl considered herself the wife of the purchaser, and accompanied him home often (when purchased by a white man who could not speak the Indian language), very reluctantly, and in tears; still the right of the father was never resisted.

But to continue as to Pauquette. In the last of September, 1836, the War Department (then having the Indian Bureau) directed Gov. Dodge to assemble the Winnebagoes, at Fort Winnebago, and if possible treat with them for all the lands they owned east of the Mississippi; and he called to his assistance all the half-blood Winnebagoes he could get. The council lasted several weeks, during which time every possible effort was made to induce them to sell; but there seemed to be an under-current somewhere to prevent it, and the governor failed. This he attributed to the influence of Pauquette and myself, and I think we never denied it. In the governor's next official report, he recommended that no license be granted to one Satterlee Clark to trade with the Winnebagoes, for the reason that his influence with the Indians was so great that he prevented them from doing what the government desired, and caused them to do what the government did not desire to be done; and that he further induced them to give large sums of money out of their annuity to himself and friends. Pauquette would undoubtedly have been included with me in this report, but for his death.

This council closed on the 17th day of October, 1836, and the next day Pauquette came to my store to rejoice over our victory. On this occasion he drank too much wine, and became just enough intoxicated to be impatient of contradiction. In this condition he started home on foot, and when within about one quarter of a mile of the ferry, opposite his house, he found an Indian and his wife sitting by a little fire in the bushes. The Indian was Mahzahnahneekah, or Iron Walker, who was also drunk. What there occurred, is only known as related by the squaw that night. She said Pauquette kicked the fire apart, the Indian arose up and said something that offended Pauquette, who slapped the Indian's face, knocking him down. The Indian

got up, saying, "You knocked me down; but I got up. I will knock you down, and you will never get up. I will go for my gun." Pauquette only laughed, and sat down. The Indian returned, when Pauquette stood up, pulled open his coat, placed his hand on his breast and said, "Strike and see a brave man die." The Indian fired, killing him instantly, the ball severing one of the main arteries leading from the heart. No man in Wisconsin could have died who was so much regretted. His death can safely be attributed to intoxication, though it was the first time I ever knew or heard of his being in that condition.*

Mahzahnahneekah was tried, convicted and sentenced to be hung; but the judgment was reversed by the supreme court, and he never was punished. He is long since dead.

There has been some doubt as to where Mr. Pauquette was buried, and I will state what I know of his burial. In the first instance, while he did not claim to belong to any religious denomination, his wife being a Catholic, he built a small church near the center of what is now Portage City. At his death I assisted to bury his remains under the floor of this church. Subsequently the church was burned; and still later while I was living at

* The *Galena Advertiser*, of Saturday, Oct. 22d, 1836, thus referred to Pauquette's death: After mentioning that Governor Dodge had failed in his negotiation with the Winnebago Indians for a further cession of their lands to the United States, stated: "On Monday evening last [Oct. 17th], Mr. Pauquette, long and favorably known as an Indian trader and interpreter, was shot by a son of Whirling Thunder, a prominent chief of the tribe." The *Belmont Gazette* gives the following account of Pauquette's death from an eye witness: "Some of the Indians, instigated, it was said, by a family of half-breeds, named Grignon, propagated a report that Pauquette had acted treacherously in his capacity of interpreter. Indignant at having his correctness questioned, he pursued several of the Grignon family, all of whom fled before him, until he was some considerable distance from the place where the treaty was being held. While returning from the fruitless pursuit, his murderer emerged from a copse of wood, and ordering him to stand, avowed his intention of shooting him. Pauquette deliberately bared his bosom, and remarking that he feared not to die, bade him fire. The ball of the Indian passed through his heart, and he almost instantly expired. The author of the deed, with stolid indifference, expressed a perfect willingness to expiate his offence with his own life. Mr. Pauquette, we are informed, was a man of noble and generous qualities, and had scarcely an enemy in the world. He was in our service during the Black Hawk War, and distinguished himself by his cool and collected courage in every emergency."

In vol. vii, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, are two accounts of Pauquette's death—one by John T. de la Ronde and the other by Hon. Henry Merrell. Col. Ebenezer Childs, in a letter to his wife written at Belmont, Nov. 1, 1836, speaking of his journey there, states: "At Pauquette's farm, I got the news of poor Pauquette's death, and was never more astonished in my life." L. C. D.

Green Lake, I received a summons to come up and point out the grave, some of his friends being desirous to remove his body. I came up and found the locality without any difficulty; but never heard whether he was removed, or, if so, where. At that time Portage City had been surveyed, and his grave was in the middle of a street.

The old man Crélie was an important element in the early history of this locality, and I cannot well avoid giving him a passing notice. Mr. Crélie was the father-in-law of Pauquette, and was sixty years of age when I came to Fort Winnebago in 1830, so that when he was on exhibition at the several Soldiers' Home Fairs in 1863, he was ninety-three years old. This corresponds with the opinion of Mr. Beouchard, a Frenchman who came to Wisconsin much earlier than I did, as given in his letter to the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, while the old man was being exhibited as one hundred and forty. In 1832, during the Black Hawk War, he was bearer of dispatches, much too fatiguing a duty for a man more than sixty-two years of age.

Not long after the death of Mr. Pauquette, a detachment of recruits arrived at Fort Winnebago, among whom was a man named Carpenter, who was discharged because he was unable to pass the surgeon for muster. He had a wife, and determined to remain in the country. He accordingly located upon the bank of the Wisconsin River, and kept a tavern for the accommodation of lumbermen. It may safely be said of him, that he was the first white civilian of Portage City, if his house was in the city limits.

Then followed Andrew Dunn, Hugh McFarlane, Richard F. Veeder, and others, and I think in the order I have named them.

Capt. Gideon Lowe left the army in 1839, and settled on the Portage, where he kept a public house a number of years. He died long ago.

John T. de la Ronde, who died recently in the town of Caldonia, came to Wisconsin about the year 1834, instead of 1828, as is stated in an obituary I read recently. It was the custom of the American Fur Co., to enlist Canadians for a term of years and bring them into the Northwest to be used as voyageurs and

packers. De la Ronde was so enlisted, and was assigned to work for Pauquette.

Shortly after his arrival, he married the daughter of Whitehead Dekauray, who had once been a sort of morganatic wife of an officer of the army,* and had been left a widow when he was ordered off. He lived with her till she died, and since then I have known very little of him.

I must say something of Count Haraszthy and his family. In about 1842 or 1843, I am not certain which, Count Agostin Haraszthy came to Wisconsin, bought some property at Sauk City on the Wisconsin, and settled there with his family. He was a nobleman in every sense, and he and his wife were among the most refined people I ever knew; and both were exceedingly good looking.

I saw them frequently both at home and at Madison. At the latter place they had a large number of friends and acquaintances, by whom they were much respected. Early in the spring of 1849 he joined a party that left Madison to go overland to California. Among those who went out with him was the Hon. Thos. W. Sutherland, who had formerly been United States district attorney of the Territory. Haraszthy was quite successful in raising grapes, and in the manufacture of wine and distilled spirits. Within two or three years last past, I read in some paper a thrilling account of his death. It seemed he had procured the exclusive privilege of manufacturing distilled spirits in Central America; that he went with a small party in search of a good locality for raising grapes and establishing a distillery; that the party came to a bayou filled with crocodiles over which there was a small foot bridge. Haraszthy being in the advance attempted to cross the bridge, which gave way precipitating him into the water, and before he could be recovered by his friends, a large crocodile caught him by the middle and carried him off, while a large number followed. His fate can well be imagined.†

* Capt. Thomas Page Gwynne, who had entered the army as a cadet in 1813, serving in the Black Hawk War, had risen through regular grades, to major, in 1847, and died at Norfolk, Va., Feb. 26, 1861.

† Count Haraszthy was born in Hungary in 1812, and lost his life in Nicaragua, July 6, 1870, in crossing a swollen stream on a fallen tree, alone, he slipped in and was drowned. His body was never recovered. So his surviving son relates.

Recollections of Rev. Eleazer Williams

By Gen. Albert G. Ellis

My acquaintance with Mr. Williams began in November, 1820, when he was residing at Oneida Castle, Oneida County, New York.

It was at his earnest solicitation that I went to live with him, the proposal being made by Mr. Williams through an aged friend of my father, Mr. Samuel Sackett. Williams had obtained the confidence of Mr. Sackett; and, at his request, I consented to visit him at Oneida with my old friend who introduced us. I found Williams very earnest to please, and captivate. He held up a most glowing picture of the advantages I was to derive by joining him; chief among which was leisure to pursue studies and acquire an education. He had learned from Mr. Sackett that I had left the printing business for the express purpose of improving myself in general knowledge, and especially in mastering the English language, and the common branches of the mathematics, and that with such intent I was at that very time attending a grammar school at Verona, my native place, three miles from Oneida. Notwithstanding the fine promises of Mr. Williams, I had many misgivings; but finally, on the urgent advice of my old friend, who was like a father to me, my own having died many years previous, I consented to make trial of a life with the Rev. Eleazer Williams, at Oneida Castle.

I had a two-fold purpose to fulfill, that of schoolmaster to some Oneida children, and companion to Mr. Williams, who in turn, was to teach me the languages, Latin, Greek, and French. I joined him about the middle of November, 1820; found him living in the old homestead of the old head chief of the Oneidas, dead some years before, Skanandoah, at the famous old butternut orchard. Williams appeared quite comfortable; had but little

furniture, but quite a library; some very rare, choice books; a good number in the French language, and withal a set of Romish missal, one volume about fourteen inches by twenty-four, and very heavy, printed in different colors; the mass book complete, in Latin. But I cannot give a catalogue of his library. He appeared very fond of the books, though his reading was mostly confined to narrative and history. He wanted me to read the theological works, but scarce ever touched one himself.

My first inquiry, after getting rest, was for the school-house. "Oh," said he, "all in good time, my son; we are building the school-house." In fact there was a small addition going up, to the old Skanandoah mansion, which was at length completed, but it was never used for a school-house; and the whole time—nearly four years—that I was with him, I never had an opportunity to teach an Indian child letters. I was permitted, nay, urged, to teach them singing, and this I did more or less every week while at Oneida.

It was not long, however, before my services were required as teacher. Not, indeed, for Indian children, but a single adult scholar, the Rev. Mr. Williams himself. And I soon learned the great object he had in inviting me to Oneida, was to teach him to read, to pronounce, and to write the English language. My astonishment was great. I had observed that in conversation he made bad work with the language, but regarded him as an educated man—a graduate of a college; at least, I supposed he could read and probably write the English, but I soon found that he not only failed in the pronunciation, but that he could not write the simplest sentence correctly. That while he could understand common conversation, and to some extent join in it, he could neither speak nor write the most simple sentence with accuracy. He made me spend hours every day in helping him to utter words, to get correct sounds, and to pronounce so as to be understood. In all the time that I was with him, he made almost no progress perceptible in the construction of the language. The cases of nouns, the moods and tenses of verbs were unintelligible to him; and to the last of my acquaintance with him, he could not write five lines of English decently.

He had a great incentive to learn to pronounce the language; it was that he might *preach to the whites*. He had several sermons which he had endeavored to copy from old manuscripts of his forefathers, the Williamses; but in which there occurred words and passages which he could not make out, and so he had left blanks. These sermons he called on me to decipher and complete, and then to help him in the pronunciation. Weeks and months were spent in this manner; at last he mastered two to that extent, he thought fit to try them in public. Later he preached them several times before the garrison at Green Bay; after which several others were prepared in a similar manner—always from the old manuscripts—never did he attempt a composition of his own. Of these old manuscript sermons of the Williamses and other New England ministers, he had at least a barrel.

He kept me at this task of learning him to pronounce English, and to get some knowledge of the language, more or less for the whole three years and a half that I was with him. The painful tedium of the thing did not consist in the labor, irksome as it was, but in the almost total lack of progress and improvement.

Besides these daily exercises of pronouncing English, one of the services required of me was to assist him in his correspondence. He had a mass of unanswered letters, besides others to write himself. He had attempted some of the answers, but sensible of deficiencies, and fearing blunders, he had held them, and now it was my business to render his attempts into intelligible English, which, when I had done, he carefully copied out. This business of bringing up his correspondence to date, occupied us several months. Never after that, till I left him, did he send off a letter of the most simple kind till I had corrected the language. After I left him, he took into his employ a discharged soldier, at Green Bay, a tolerably fair English scholar, named Weightman,*

* Mrs. French, in her *History of Brown County*, states that "the private secretary of Eleazer Williams, F. J. Woutman, who had done all his employers' writing for many years, was drowned in the fall of 1853 and his body was not recovered until sometime in 1854."

L. C. D.

who continued with him many years, and was finally drowned in Fox River in 1854. Should the manuscript sermons, journals and other writings of Mr. Williams ever see day-light, they will be found largely in the handwriting of Mr. Weightman, sometimes incorrectly written Woutman. This service, as his amanuensis, threw into my hands all his private papers; they were all submitted to my care without reserve, for arrangement and filing.

Mr. Williams was of a jovial temper when not crossed. It was one of his maxims to enjoy life. He was a good feeder, and laid himself out to have his larder well supplied, and to live cheerfully, even gaily, in high spirits; but he had some draw-backs. Frequently, I discovered, soon after joining him, that he had his troubles. They were mostly controversies with his neighbors, and I was astonished to note that they were generally about matters of deal. The white denizens of the Oneida Castle, of which there were quite a number, were coming to him almost daily with claims, large and small, for labor and for supplies, which claims he was as constantly contesting. These differences began to affect his reputation for honesty and fair dealing; and it was soon quite apparent that the claimants were not always in the wrong. As these were mostly with persons of small influence, he affected to pass them off gaily, as of little consequence.*

But there came up an affair about this time, December of 1820, that was not so easily dismissed. Williams had been with the Oneidas some two and a half—nearly three years. In this time he had persuaded the old Pagan party—nearly three-fifths of the tribe, to abjure Paganism, and to accept Christianity.† They had done it, so far, at least, as to consent to its being taught to their young people; and had gone so far, under Williams' influence, as to repair to Albany and to sell to the Governor a few hundred acres of their reservation, with the proceeds of which to

* Dr. F. B. Hough, in his introduction to the *Life of Thomas Williams*, the reputed father of Eleazer Williams, makes reference, on page 9th of that work, to the latter's bad reputation among his *creditors* in the locality where he resided and died—Hogansburg and St. Regis. L. C. D.

† The venerable Oneida chief, Jacob Cornelius, who was born in January, 1802, states unreservedly, as a living witness of the fact, that Williams, by his eloquence, reason and persuasion, induced the Pagan portion of the Oneidas to abandon their ancient Pagan customs, their three days' feasts and dances, &c., and give heed to the teachings of Christianity. Verbal statement made in Nov. 1877, to the writer of this note.

"So great was Mr. Williams' success," says Mrs. Hammond, in her *History of Madison County, N. Y.*, "that a large portion of the Oneidas, who had hitherto been known as the Pagan party, embraced the Christian faith. * * * Bishop Hobart visited the Mission and confirmed in all five hundred Indians." L. C. D.

raise a fund expressly to build a church; and one hundred acres were donated to Williams. The governor ordered the amount obtained by this sale, some \$4,000, placed in the hands of two commissioners, Judges Williams and Miller, of Utica, for perfect security of faithful application. Messrs. Williams and Miller, in the fullest confidence, had placed the money at Mr. Williams' disposal for the purpose of building the church. He employed mechanics, submitted the plans, furnished the material, and in reasonable time the church was built. It was up, finished and occupied the fall I went to Oneida, and was a credit to the Indians, and quite a feather in Williams' cap.

In the early part of that winter, Mr. Williams was notified that the commissioners, Messrs. Williams and Miller, would wait upon him in a few days, to see the new church, and examine his vouchers for the expenditure of the money. Williams was exceedingly exercised about it, for he had no vouchers that would bear inspection. He got an amount figured up to cover the \$4,000; but in such equivocal shape as would not bear the light.

The commissioners came and viewed the church—a small building of a cheap construction, about twenty-eight by fifty-eight feet, with a small vestry-room, and a belfry. They did not express any opinion as to the cost. They then repaired to the house to examine the accounts. Judge Williams, after looking them over, began asking Williams questions, none of which could he satisfactorily answer. After some half hour of colloquy, Judge Williams threw the papers on the table in anger, saying: “I wash *my* hands of the whole matter; those accounts are a mystery.” Judge Miller said as much, and they both left the room. I do not think the matter was ever adjusted. The church was supposed to have cost at most \$1,200 to \$1,400 dollars. The balance of the \$4,000 was not accounted for, and the Indians made it a charge against Mr. Williams for long years afterward. This matter seemed to affect Williams' mind somewhat seriously; but did not cure him of his habits of equivocation.

Soon after I had completed his back correspondence, he brought a new thing on the tapis. This was to write out an Indian speech. In 1819, Rev. Dr. Jedidiah Morse had traveled through the

Northwest, as far as Green Bay, and made an elaborate report to the War Department. The subject of finding a home west of Lake Michigan for some of the New York Indians had been discussed. The Stockbridge Indians were in favor of it. Dr. Morse was their friend and adviser, and as such he visited them the next year after his return from Green Bay. They suggested that their friends and neighbors, the Oneidas, should be sounded, and invited to join in the project. Dr. Morse visited Oneida in October, 1820, and saw Williams who was already ripe for the adventure. Williams always claimed that he himself was the originator of the whole scheme. A council of the Oneidas, and especially the Pagan party, or, as designated, the second Christian party, was called, all the chiefs attending. Dr. Morse opened the council, and set forth the great advantage it would be to them to remove to Green Bay; Mr. Williams acted as the interpreter; and the Indians answered.

After the council adjourned, Dr. Morse asked Williams for the speech of the Indian chief in writing, Williams promised to have it ready in a day or so. The time went by and the speech was not ready; but Williams would send it to him. The Doctor said it might be left with his friend, Judge Breese, who lived only two miles from Williams' house. It was this speech of the chiefs of the second Christian party, in reply to Dr. Morse's address, that Mr. Williams wished me to write from his notes. It took him two days to prepare it from his memoranda, and me nearly as long to write it out, presentable for Judge Breese. It was finally accomplished; Williams signed the names of the Indian chiefs, and the speech went off to Dr. Morse.

The next year, 1821, Dr. Morse (it might have been Judge Breese, acting for Dr. Morse), on a visit to the Stockbridges, was told the chiefs of the second Christian party of the Oneidas were opposing the removal to Green Bay, with all their might. He immediately repaired to Oneida, found the tribal interpreter, Martinus Denny, Mr. Williams being absent, with whose help the chiefs of the second Christian party were assembled in council. Dr. Morse told them he had come a second time to confer with them about their removal to Green Bay; that the matter was in

favorable progress, a party being then out there, under the patronage of the government, and that he was disappointed to learn that, though the first Christian party of the Oneidas were represented in the delegation, the second Christian party were unrepresented. He then reminded them of their answer to his proposition made to them on the subject in council a year ago. They asked what it was? He then read, and had interpreted to them, extracts from their speech to him as furnished by Mr. Williams. After reading and having interpreted several sentences, their chief speaker stopped the interpreter, and asked Dr. Morse where he got that speech? He told them it was what they answered him a year before, and was interpreted by Williams.

The chiefs then answered that they had never made any such answer to him a year ago, or at any other time; that the whole thing was a lie from beginning to end, and advised him to burn it up at once, as it was none of theirs. That while they were made to say in that paper, that as "they were old men, perhaps they would not go out there themselves, that nevertheless they would make provisions for their young men to go." They did, in fact, say to him in reply, that they would not remove to Green Bay; and that they would furthermore advise their people, young and old, to have nothing to do with that scheme, and that they would oppose it in every way possible. That is what we did say; and the chiefs repeated with great earnestness that the paper from which he had been reading as their speech was a lie, a wicked lie, and again begged of him to burn it.

Williams being then at Green Bay, with a delegation of Oneidas, Onondagas, Tuscaroras, and Stockbridges, no explanation was offered Dr. Morse. But afterward, on his attention being called to the repudiation of the speech by the chiefs of the Pagan or second Christian party, he was ready with an immediate answer, "that interested white men had persuaded them to change their minds and oppose emigration to Green Bay." How far this explanation might have satisfied Dr. Morse, it had no weight whatever with either the Indians or intelligent white people in the vicinity—all united in stigmatizing it as only another of Williams' subterfuges. Accidents of this sort occurring almost

daily, were beginning to affect rather seriously the character of the Rev. Eleazer Williams for truth and veracity, especially with the Indians and the whites in the neighborhood; while at a distance, with government officials and dignitaries of the Episcopal church, they were still regarded as so much persecution of the poor missionary to the Indians.

But to go back a little. I have already spoken of the school house or addition, being built to the old Skanandoah mansion for school purposes, but which was never used in that connection. I must now explain the object of its erection as soon after disclosed. Williams was a "great man," as he was constantly in the habit of so referring to himself; and of course, he must do as other great men did. He must have an audience room. He did, in fact, hold every Thursday afternoon *levees* of the Indians, at this new room, which seemed to have been erected expressly for this purpose, as I never discovered any other use for it. At these levees he assembled any of the Indians of both sexes, and all classes, who would attend. They were, however, mostly young persons, young men and women, and the more aged women, with but few elderly men, and never, as I recollect, a single one of their chiefs and head men. They were marshalled in with great state and ceremony; salutations and hand shaking were never omitted. The audience being assembled, the exercises commenced. I looked at the first one for prayers and singing, but there were none; the opening, the middle, and the closing, were always similar, and consisted of the talk of Mr. Williams, always in Oneida, or rather Mohawk, the Indian dialect which he spoke, and which differed only slightly from the Oneida. He gracefully occupied them for an hour and a half to two hours; his discourse almost without exception was concerning himself, and how it happened that he was the "great man he was." He was methodical, and began at the beginning, and spent a number of afternoons in the history of his early childhood, where he was born, at Caughnawaga, or St. Regis. Of course at first I understood but little of these harangues; after a few months I could understand sufficient to follow him in his talk. The marvelous precocity of his boyhood, from three years old and upwards, was his favorite theme.

He recited a thousand and one incidents of his child life, contests with his little playmates—strifes for the mastery, in which somehow it always turned out that he was the victor. From week to week in these audiences he led his hearers on, with incidents of his life as he grew older. He had marvelous stories to tell of his ancestors, the Williams family, and how he was descended from the whites; of his accompanying his father in his hunting, trapping and fishing excursions, at a great distance from their village to Lake George, where they often encamped for several weeks. It was in these excursions, while yet a small boy, that he became “a mighty hunter.” Then came his account of how the white men, his forefathers on the American or white side, came to get him and his brother to go to school in Massachusetts; how he resisted, and how they had to come several times before he would consent to go with them.

In these addresses to the Oneidas, in explanation of his childhood, boyhood, manhood, and present ministerial character, he occupied more than a year, and during the whole time it was his only theme to the simple Oneidas.

Mr. Williams, in the Mohawk, was a born orator. Perfect master of the language, he held his audience, whether in these levees, or in the church, perfectly enchained. Till Williams came among them, they had heard the gospel only through the clouded vehicle of an interpreter, and their missionary, Jenkins, a man of low order of intellect, obscured by bad habits, presented only a dim view of the great subject, and gave but a faint picture of the glorious gospel of good news to fallen man. Williams addressed them in the mother tongue, and with enthusiasm. They were soon captivated, and poor Jenkins only had empty benches.

Williams revised Brant's translation of the first part of the Prayer Book. Brant had used about twenty of the Roman alphabet in writing Mohawk, and the French priests something less. Williams made a radical reform, using but eleven letters to write the language, to-wit: a, e, h, i, k, n, o, r, s, t, w. This simplified the orthography so much that an Indian child could be taught to read in a few lessons. Williams got the morning service printed, and introduced in his church services; and no

English congregation ever responded in their prayers more fully than did the Oneidas in theirs. Williams also composed and got printed a small spelling and rudimental book, which greatly facilitated the learning of the young people to read Oneida or Mohawk. It was this thorough knowledge of the Mohawk, his mother tongue, and the captivating, forcible, elegant use he made of it, that gave him such a hold on the Oneidas, and all other Indians who heard him; and which he might have retained through life, but for his repeated and inexcusable equivocations, which finally lost him forever their confidence and respect.

Having now been with Mr. Williams something more than half a year, kept closely occupied, hearing him pronounce English, arranging his numerous papers, superintending his correspondence, correcting and Anglicizing his sermons, teaching his Indian congregation to sing the songs and chants of the church, with scarce a moment for study myself; and seeing no hopes of realizing those expectations held out to me by him at the commencement, of improving myself in an educational direction, I began to be ill at ease, and to entertain serious thoughts of severing the connection. Pausing in my labors, I invited Mr. Williams to a discussion of the subject—recalled to his recollection the promises made to me at the outset, of facilities for study, which had thus far at least proved delusive; that the main inducement I had in joining him was his promise to teach me, himself, the languages, to enable me to read the classics. That I had found he could read neither Latin nor Greek himself; that while he could make out a little easy French, he could not speak it intelligibly, or pronounce it at all; but that worst of all, he had made no motion toward my instruction; that all I had learned was to pronounce a little of the Mohawk, in which I acknowledged his complete competency. I added that to me, the time had been a complete loss.

Mr. Williams then opened to me more fully than he had yet done, his intentions and expectations with regard to a removal of the Indians to Green Bay. I could but admire the comprehension, grandeur, even, of his scheme. Not the Oneidas only, but the whole Six Nations were to be included. The country west

of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, and perhaps farther, was to be mapped out, and a large area to be set off to each of the tribes—the St. Regis to occupy the mouth of Fox River and head of Green Bay. A new form of government was to be adopted. The wisdom of the past was to be searched for a model; it should not be a republic, but some plan of empire, with one supreme head. Not a doubt would he permit to be entertained of its success. The United States government had expressed its approbation, and would set apart the country; and a glorious future awaited those who should lead in the enterprise. Would I not be one to go forward in the advance? He thought he could assure me almost any situation in the new government I could name. I have only given a glance at his immense project, which he elaborated for hours, in the most extravagant, impossible manner. The grandeur of his plans had little attraction for me, chiefly because it looked so Utopian—so improbable of attainment. But the single idea of seeing new countries, and especially the Great West, had a charm for me indeed, and in the contemplation of it my resolution for a separation was a good deal shaken; and with a promise of reconsidering the matter, the conference was adjourned. Another thing occurring about this time, inclined me still further to a continuance with Williams. One of the young Oneida chiefs, a man of the best of morals and unshaken fidelity, as well as of high standing in the tribe, named Cornelius Bear, had made up his mind to look with marked favor on the project of emigration. He had spoken to me, to ascertain if I intended to accompany the delegation next year to Green Bay, and intimating his wish for some person to assist him if he should go, and undertake to commit his band to the project. We very soon came to an amicable understanding. I found he intended to employ me as a kind of agent, should he and his band ever remove.

Williams had made more progress with the emigration scheme than I had supposed. The dream of his life was the establishment of an Indian empire west of Lake Michigan. He had communicated with all the Iroquois nations, endeavoring to prepare their minds for the project. The first Christian party of the

Oneidas had given their formal assent; the former Pagan, now second Christian party, were in violent opposition. The Onondagas were now committed—the Tuscaroras appeared favorably disposed. In the spring of 1821, I accompanied Williams on a visit to New York and Philadelphia. At New York he was in long consultation with Thos. L. Ogden, Esq., chief man of a New York Land Company, which held the pre-emption right of purchase of the most of the Indian reservations in that State, especially those of the Senecas near Buffalo. Mr. Ogden conceived that Williams would be a powerful agent in effecting the removal of the Senecas, and from him Mr. Williams received a good sum—several hundred dollars, in money. These largesses were repeated by Mr. Ogden, many times after. At Philadelphia the conferences were with the executive committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal church, and from whom Williams solicited aid for the establishment of a mission of that church among the Indians at Green Bay. Those gentlemen, Rev. Mr. Boyd, Rev. J. Kemper, and Dr. Milnor treated us courteously, but with evident caution. No money was obtained at that visit, though small sums were supplied Mr. Williams from that source for two or three years after.

Quite a voluminous correspondence was carried on with the War Department of the general government. Other parties supplemented Williams' efforts in this direction—as the New York Land Company, the Presbyterian Board of Missions in behalf of the Stockbridge Indians—which resulted in obtaining permission from the President for a numerous delegation of the several bands of the New York Indians to visit Green Bay, always under the patronage, protection, and with the assistance of the government; the object being to treat with the Western Indians for a cession of their land for a home for the several tribes. The enterprise began to wear a favorable aspect. Mr. Williams was greatly elated; “the general government had pledged itself—it would never look back; the great State of New York had taken the matter in hand; and the most influential men in the country—men of wealth and high position—senators and governors; there was no possibility of failure.” It was the great.

theme of Williams by night and by day. He could hardly restrain his conversation within the bounds of reason or probability.

What of the Indians? But a meager state of favor toward it had as yet been produced among them. The great object was to get the consent of the Senecas. Runners and emissaries were employed; and finally a grand council of all the bands was assembled. Williams laid the project before them in his best style. The chiefs treated the proposal with grave consideration—heard the reasons proposed for it with most serious attention. After a day's consideration they were ready with their answer. In most emphatic terms they refused; the famous Red Jacket being chief speaker.* The council was ended, and Williams resorted to other means which was, to find *individuals*, some of the *young men* who would go as delegates on their own private account. After a week's time one was discovered, a young Seneca of good parts, who remained true to the undertaking for years; but who never could persuade another of the tribe to his way of thinking.

And here it is to be observed, that in the whole of this effort to remove the New York Indians to Green Bay, not one of the several tribes, except the Stockbridges and the first Christian party of the Oneidas, ever yielded their assent in due form, in any regular council, or appointed delegates to attend any of the parties going West. It was, however, claimed by Williams, that the St. Regis Indians had duly and solemnly assented; but this was denied, and himself alone was the only delegate; so far as I recollect. Notwithstanding these discouraging set-backs, Williams retained the most enthusiastic faith: said the single men going out on their own accord would serve every purpose, with the sanction of the general government, of making the treaties; and that the good reports they would make on their return, would raise the enthusiasm of the masses; and the chiefs, the old fogies, would be compelled to fall in and sanction the noble enterprise.

* This discomfiture on the part of Williams must have been all the more mortifying from the fact that he had been successful, two years before, in conjunction with the Seneca agents, Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones, in persuading the Senecas to establish schools and other improvements among them—a large majority of whom had hitherto strenuously opposed any advance towards civilization. See *Niles' Register*, Dec. 11, 1819, p. 244.

Besides the opposition of the Indians to his grand scheme, Mr. Williams was constantly goaded with petty annoyances, that gave him no peace. There was a population around Oneida that he was having dealings with almost every day, for supplies of different kinds, labor, &c. In these matters of deal he was always in hot water; they complained of his refusing them justice in every way, mostly in delaying payment of their just dues. Almost every day he would have high words with some of them, and they charging him with all manner of injustice. These controversies went so far that he was openly and notoriously charged with dishonesty; and to which accusations he seemed perfectly indifferent. He had no mind or thought for anything but Indian empire. In pursuance of this he was in daily correspondence with the War Department, the Ogden Land Company, and the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Episcopal church, making in these communications, most unwarrantable representations of the readiness of the Indians to engage in the enterprise, when, as it appeared to me, most of them were in heated opposition.

Early in the summer of 1821, a delegation set out from Oneida and Stockbridge for Green Bay. Excepting those of the first Christian party of the Oneidas, and the Stockbridges, all these delegates, to-wit: one from Onondaga, one from Tuscarora, one from the Senecas and one, Williams himself, from St. Regis, went on their own private responsibility, without any authority from their tribes. If any exception should be made in case of Williams, as for the St. Regis, it never appeared, so far as I could discover, in any authentic form. In fact, with the exception of the first Christian party of the Oneidas, and the Stockbridges, the sentiment was universal, and most emphatically expressed against removal from their homes in New York.

On arriving at Detroit, Gov. Cass added C. C. Trowbridge, Esq., to the delegation to represent and protect the interests of the general government. If human action can be accepted as testimony, the Western Indians were taken entirely by surprise. There was no Indian agent at Green Bay, Col. John Bowyer having died in 1820, and the Indians had not been apprised of the coming

of their New York brethren. It was only after some days, and much exertion, that the Menomonees and Winnebagoes could be got into council; at first they refused most peremptorily to treat for a sale of any of their lands to the newcomers. The commissioners, Williams and Mr. Trowbridge, found it necessary to take council. They applied to the French inhabitants and traders. Through their influence the Menomonees and Winnebagoes were induced to reconsider the matter; and at last they offered the New York Indians a little strip about four miles wide, crossing Fox River, at right angles with the Little Chute as a center, and running each way equi-distant with their claim to the country. This was accepted, and thus terminated the negotiations of 1821.* To many this seemed little better than a defeat of the whole scheme of colonizing the New York Indians in the West. Not so with Mr. Williams; he was still sanguine, and made it his chief business to impress the Ogden Land Company, and the church authorities, both Episcopal and Presbyterian, of the fair prospect of final success.

The delegates of the first Christian party, on their return from Green Bay, in 1821, had a lively time in giving an account of their mission; their doings were criticised severely, not only by the Pagan party, but by members of their own, the first Christian party, and they found much difficulty in giving satisfactory explanations. Movers in the opposition caused a written remonstrance against the whole proceeding to be circulated, which was largely signed, in which quite a number of the first Christian party joined. This remonstrance was a free indictment of Mr. Williams, who was characterized as chief instigator of a scheme to rob the Oneidas of their homes, and make them a kind of wanderers and vagabonds of the earth. It was directed to Bishop Hobart, whom they cautioned against recognizing Mr. Williams as having any authority whatever to represent them anywhere, either civilly or religiously; and they particularly protested against the proceeding which they alleged he had set on foot without their authority for their removal to the West. They closed their remonstrance

* This treaty was concluded Aug. 18, 1821, as the original, deposited by the Indians with Hon. M. L. Martin, shows.

with the request that the bishop should immediately withdraw him from among them as a religious teacher.*

Mr. Williams, assuming that all this was only the machinations of a few bad white men, opposed to the removal of the Indians, had the address to persuade the bishop, and to place all his matters fair with the War Department, with the church authorities, and the Ogden Land Company, all which lent their influence to procuring an order from the president for a new delegation to visit Green Bay in 1822.

By the spring of that year, although the opposition among the Six Nations was rather intensified, the Stockbridges had extended their operations so as to include the Brothertowns, the Munsees, and the White River band of the Stockbridges; and these several bands brought considerable influence to bear on the United States government, and philanthropists of several Christian churches.

The delegation this year was larger than ever before. On arriving at Detroit, the authorities of the Indian department for Michigan appointed Mr. John Sargeant to act in behalf of the government. The deputies arrived at Green Bay on the first of September, and proceeded immediately to business. The two tribes of Winnebagoes and Menomonees assembled in less than a week. In conformity with the treaty of a year before, the amount of \$1,500 in goods was paid, and equally divided between the two tribes. As soon as decency would allow, after the feasting and dancing, the deputies made a speech to the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, asking for an extension of the cession of last year. They were heard with courtesy. The Winnebagoes answered

* As corroborative evidence that Gen. Ellis gives a faithful representation of Williams' conduct at this period, and of the utter distrust of the Oneidas in him, the following from the *New York Telescope*, of June 25th, 1825, is in point: A writer in the *Philadelphia Reformer*, a resident of Oneida County, N. Y., in whom the editor declares "the fullest confidence can be placed," states that William Jenkins was missionary to the Oneidas from 1808, whose "conduct was unsatisfactory to the Indians; they remonstrated against him, and he was removed in 1816 not having succeeded in getting hold of any of their lands. Eleazer Williams, a *half-blood* Iroquois who was very busy in remonstrating against Jenkins, was sent by Bishop Hobart, of the Protestant Episcopal church, as his successor. This Williams at first promised fair; but, like other hirelings, his own pecuniary interests got the ascendancy, and by management and intrigue he got fifteen hundred dollars' worth of their lands. All parties, Pagan and Christian, united against him in an animated and well-written remonstrance to the bishop, dated 12th Nov., 1821, and published in the *Plain Truth* and in the *Reformer*."

first, promptly but positively refusing an extension of the grant. Then shaking hands, with a grand "*bon jour*" all round, they left the council; and in two hours time there was not a Winnebago to be seen.

The Menomonees lingered, and it was soon surmised they were not inaccessible. A council was appointed for the next day, which was pretty fully attended. After some hours debate, this tribe proposed, for a consideration, to admit the New York Indians to an occupancy in common to all their lands in the country. This was accepted, and regarded by Mr. Williams as the grand triumph.

The treaty was immediately drawn and duly signed.* The Stockbridge delegates, with some of the Six Nations, returned home; most of the Oneida delegates, with Williams, remained at the Bay the ensuing winter. The Stockbridges were fairly embarked in the enterprise, as were also the Brothertowns; and the next year the White River band of Stockbridges, headed by John Metoxen, came through by land to the Bay.

Thus, in 1823 and 1824, some one hundred and fifty of the Oneidas, and as many of the Stockbridges, had removed and entered on their new possessions. But none of the other tribes, and none of the second Christian party of the Oneidas, evinced any disposition to join in the emigration scheme; but, on the contrary, steadily and implacably opposed.

The following year another large party of the Oneidas came on: the whole of them settled on Duck Creek, about eight miles from Green Bay. The Stockbridges had located at the Grand Kaukaulin. The consenting of the Menomonees, in 1822, to a joint occupancy of their whole country by the New York Indians was unexpected; and Williams and all the delegates were as much surprised as elated. This should be explained, and may be as follows: As before remarked, these Green Bay Indians, especially the Menomonees, were greatly under the influence of the French inhabitants, with whom they were largely intermarried. The better class of these French people had come to set a high estimate

* Concluded Sept. 23d, 1822, as shown by the copy of the treaty deposited with Hon. M. L. Martin.

on education; they were at that very time endeavoring to get English schools established in the settlement. Williams, always profuse in cheap promises, had caused it to be circulated among them, that if they would use their influence with the Menomonees to grant the New York Indians a participation in their country, they should forthwith have established among them the several institutions of civilization, emphasizing that of schools, where their children and young people should receive proper instruction. The Indians as well as the French people comprehended the importance of this proposition; and the latter especially noticed that many of the New York Indian deputies wore the dress of civilization; that they spoke the white man's language, and even some of them could read books and write on paper. These things did not escape their observation, and the proposition of Williams to give them schools made a deep impression; and it is beyond a doubt that both the Indians and the French traders were influenced to consent to the great thing of a joint occupation of the Menomonee country, by these propositions, as much as, or more than, by any pecuniary consideration promised.

It is strange how soon Williams forgot his engagements in this behalf, by which he lost the confidence of the people of the new country, both of the Indians and half-breeds, and of the French; which had he been careful to retain, it is possible the efforts to colonize the New York Indians west of the Great Lakes had not miscarried.

Through the courtesy of Col. Ninian Pinkney, commanding Fort Howard, Williams had been permitted to occupy the old Indian agency buildings, left vacant by the death of Col. Bowyer, late Indian agent. The buildings were somewhat extensive, very comfortable, and affording not only room for family purposes, but also a large, square room which might have been occupied for a school. I proposed that disposition of it to Williams, reminding him of his promise to the people, as also his and my own engagement to the Missionary Board, not doubting he would give it a hearty approval. I was mortified by his only replying with a ribald remark ridiculing my zeal at so early an hour. The inhabitants were in expectation: both the French and Indian impor-

tuned us, wishing to know when the school would open. Urging Mr. Williams on the subject, he flatly told me at last that we should not be able for that year to commence the school, alleging as a reason, that the Missionary Board had furnished no means, and as for the square room, that was wanted for other objects. And then and there ended Mr. Williams' purposes and promises of establishing schools for the Indians at Green Bay.

It is true, however, that, with the aid of an enterprising American citizen, Robert Irwin, jr., postmaster, a very small room was obtained at a short distance from the agency, a stove and a few other articles of furniture obtained, and a small school was opened, mostly filled with children of the whites, few of those of the French people, and none of those of the Indians, attending. Mr. Williams did not seem to give the affair a single thought. In a few weeks it was interrupted by the owner of the building, a young lady, contracting matrimony, and wanting the room. Then, by a good deal of importunity, I got permission from Mr. Williams to remove the school to the old agency buildings, where it continued but a few weeks, before it was broken up again—this time by Mr. Williams himself contracting matrimony with a young lady,* one of my scholars, and having indispensable use for the room for his wife's occupancy.

I have alluded to this matter of schools, and the encouragement held out to the people of the country for the establishment of institutions of civilization among them at the making of the treaty of 1822, as an inducement to them to consent to the joint occupancy of the Menomonee country by the New York Indians; as I have no doubt it was this pledge given by Mr. Williams that carried the question, deciding the Indians, under advice of the French and half-breeds, to give their consent; and I am equally sure that to the failure finally and completely to redeem these pledges, is largely to be attributed the opposition, years afterwards, of the Menomonees, French, and half-breeds, to a settlement of the New York Indians in the country. It must be remarked, however, that the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, withdrawing all confidence from Mr. Williams, appointed some years afterward—

* Miss Mary Jourdain. This marriage took place in 1823.

1827—the Rev. Richard F. Cadle their missionary, who established a large school at Menomoneeville.

The disaffection of the Menomonees towards Mr. Williams and his operations, was first openly manifested in 1827, at the treaty held at the Butte des Morts by Messrs. Cass and McKenney, commissioners. Six years had now elapsed since the making of the first treaty between the Winnebagoes and Menomonees and New York Indians; in all which time, with the country open to them, and the treaties as yet unimpeached, but few of the New York Indians had come on to possess their new country; and all such were from the Oneidas and the Stockbridges, and their dependants, the Brothertowns and the Munsees; none of the other tribes had appeared, and it was notorious that they never intended to emigrate to the country. These facts decided the authorities of the Michigan Indian department, and, as is believed, also that of the War Department, against a policy of conceding to a few hundred of the New York Indians, territory west of Lake Michigan sufficient for an empire, while the great body of Indians for whom it had been intended utterly refused to accept it.

This is doubtless the true, as it is a sufficient, explanation of the policy disclosed by the commissioners at the treaty of Butte des Morts in 1827. The recognition of the rights of the New York Indians, if not completely ignored, were but slightly regarded either by the commissioners or the Menomonees. Any man but Williams would have seen the inevitable in this treaty. Not so with him; almost blind to the true temper of the Menomonees, he affected to look on Gov. Cass and Col. McKenney as a couple of tricksters whose doings he, with the New York senators and half of Congress at his back, would, as soon as he could reach Washington, totally annihilate! With all his efforts, supplemented, too, by the New York senators and the Ogden Land Company, matters progressed adversely to his views. The only encouraging circumstance was a division of the second Christian party of the Oneidas, a new party called the Orchard party, under the care of the Methodists, arising; this party, amounting to nearly half the old Pagan party, adopted the emigration policy and removed to Green Bay.

The policy of the Menomonees, influenced by the French and half-breeds, tended more and more in opposition to the New York Indians. In 1829, Col. Samuel C. Stambaugh, of Pennsylvania, came on to the Bay to take charge of the Indian agency. His advice to the Menomonees was to repudiate entirely, and at once, all claim of the New York Indians; to repair to Washington, make a treaty with the Great Father for the sale of part of their country, and so secure large annual annuities in money, as other tribes were doing, and have something to live on as well as to clothe their women and children. It was unnecessary for him to repeat this advice; the whole tribe adopted it at once.

In November, 1830, this agent left Green Bay with a delegation of fourteen Menomonees, two interpreters, besides other assistants. Arriving at Detroit, Gov. Cass added R. A. Forsyth, Esq., and Hon. John T. Mason to the party, on the part of the government. Mr. Williams, with his wife and two Oneidas, had followed the party, and they were here added to the delegation by Gov. Cass.

Arriving at Washington, President Jackson named Maj. John H. Eaton, secretary of war, and Col. Stambaugh, commissioners, to treat with the Menomonees. A treaty was soon made, whereby the Menomonees ceded to the United States more than half their possessions west of Lake Michigan, taking but slight notice of the claims of the New York Indians. Its ratification was opposed in the senate, as also the confirmation of Col. Stambaugh's appointment as Indian agent at Green Bay, claiming that neither the treaty nor his appointment was likely to get through. The New York senators opposing, Stambaugh proposed adding a codicil to the treaty, recognizing the claims of the New York Indians, and assigning to them some forty miles square in the Northwest—a most undesirable selection. Still the New Yorkers were dissatisfied; the treaty was suspended and Mr. Stambaugh's confirmation fell.

The events of this winter disclosed two important facts—that the Menomonees could no longer be depended on to favor the ingress of the New York Indians to their country; and that the fixed policy of the governmental authorities, both of Michigan

and the United States, would henceforth be for restricting them to only so much territory as they should in a limited time occupy by actual settlement. To all the world but Mr. Williams this was a complete discomfiture of his grand scheme of Indian empire. But he, sanguine in the power and influence of the New York senators and the Ogden Land Company, still refused to accept the situation.

On returning from Washington to New York and the West, he told his friends with much assurance, that Col. Stambaugh and the enemies of the New York Indians had suffered a great defeat at Washington; that the spurious treaty would never be realized; that their friends were in the ascendancy in the country; that there was nothing to fear—they had only to move on, and possess the country! In a short time, nevertheless, the truth got abroad. The Menomonees returned, and although Col. Stambaugh was defeated personally, the treaty was not.

It is not necessary to pursue this history further in detail. The policy of the government was clearly developed—to have assigned to the New York Indians so much of the Menomonee country as they should, within a given time, not far distant, come into and occupy; the balance to be brought into market, and offered for sale to citizens of the United States. The final settlement occupied some years; but was at last made, restricting the Stockbridge, Munsee, and Brothertown tribes to a tract about eight miles by twelve, on the east shore of Winnebago Lake, and the Oneidas and others of the Six Nations to a tract west of Fox River, on Duck Creek, about twelve miles square. Mr. Williams continued to the last to combat these proceedings, his resistance growing weaker and weaker to the final catastrophe, which came in 1836, in what is known as the Schermerhorn treaty.

Thus at last came the final ruin of the emigration scheme, and with it the Indian empire west of Lake Michigan, and the waking of Mr. Williams from his life-long dream of grandeur and princely dominion over the Six Nations. Up to this time he had been sustained by hope; his fall was complete; he subsided, retired from the world, withdrew to his little place at Kaukalin, and led the life of a misanthrope, spending but little of his time at Green

Bay, but mostly in traveling up and down the lakes, and between Buffalo and the Atlantic states and cities.

He had declined slowly for years; had almost dropped out of sight while in the West in his ministerial character; had neglected almost entirely his ministrations to the Oneidas at Duck Creek, although still claiming the name of their missionary, to the Missionary Boards and philanthropists generally, and constantly drawing money in that behalf. He had no pretense of residing at Duck Creek; but whenever in the Green Bay region, he lived in his house at the Little Kaukalin, some twelve miles distant.

The poor Oneidas, thus abandoned, lost all patience. Applying to Missionary Boards at the East for religious instruction, they found Mr. Williams claiming to be their missionary, was drawing and consuming the fund, but rendering no service. About 1832, as near as recollected, the Oneidas roused up for a united effort to be rid of the incubus. Calling the United States Indian agent, Col. Geo. Boyd, to their assistance, a council of the tribe was convened at Duck Creek, in February of that year. Col. Boyd, not yet quite sure of the object of the council, invited several citizens of Green Bay to attend. On arriving at the council rooms, we found a general assemblage of that part of the Oneidas known as the old first Christian party; but few of the Orchard party, so called, were present.

Daniel Bread, one of the young chiefs that had long adhered to Williams, opened the council with an address of one hour to the Indians in their own language, in which he recounted from the beginning, his connection with the tribe; then reviewing their present condition, showing how he had failed of all his promises for long years, and how it was owing to his want of good faith, his fraud and deceit, that they were in the wilderness, utterly abandoned, without schools, churches, or religious privileges of any kind; and, worse than all, that the little fund provided by the kindness of the Christian public in the East, was anticipated, caught on its way to them by him, and consumed for entirely contrary purposes. The response to Bread's address was emphatic, universal; not a dissenting voice was heard. One of the older men, their chief speaker, then addressed the agent, go-

ing over the same ground—accusing Williams with utter neglect of his charge, and the practice of many grievous wrongs. He concluded by saying to Col. Boyd, that they had invited him there to assist them in making a final separation from Williams, and dismissing him entirely—henceforth repudiating him as a religious teacher, and warning the United States government, that of the State of New York, and the church and missionary societies against recognizing him as having any authority to act for them, to speak in their name, or in any possible way meddling with their affairs. That they wished the United States Indian agent to draw an instrument of writing, to be signed by them, to be witnessed by him and the several white gentlemen present, setting forth distinctly and plainly these protestations; and that it should be in three copies—one to be addressed to the governor of the State of New York, one to the secretary of war, and one to the proper authorities of the Episcopal church. Col. Boyd proceeded to the task, and about four o'clock P. M., the documents were read, interpreted to the Indians, every one of whom signed; and after being witnessed, were committed to the agent to be forwarded to the proper parties.

It was a terrible indictment, utterly annihilating; the only attempt to break the force of which was one by Williams, eminently characteristic of the cunning of the man, to palm off on Dr. Hanson a story of "*church discipline*," which he claims to have administered to "refractory and immoral members" of the church at Duck Creek (*vide Lost Prince*, p. 318). This account of the "*discipline*," like very many others in Dr. Hanson's book, is pure fiction—never was heard of at Duck Creek—never had an existence till it made its appearance in the *Lost Prince*. At this time, Williams had no church at Duck Creek under his control; the "consent of the religious portion of the congregation" to such proceeding was never asked by Williams, and would not have been granted, had he solicited it. Doubtless it was an after-thought, invented and promulgated to effect Daniel Bread, and to break the force of the indictment by the Indians at the council held by Col. Boyd. If, indeed, any such "*discipline*" was ever attempted, it must have been in comparative pri-

vacy—not at any regular council or meeting of the church as such, and not at Duck Creek. It might have been at Little Kaukalin, twelve miles from Duck Creek, and the religious part of the congregation, consisting of at most three old women, Williams' creatures. But I doubt if it ever had existence in any shape save in Williams' prolific brain, and as an after-thought—an expedient to offset the charges of the Oneidas made at the Boyd council.

The outcome was a withdrawal from Williams of all confidence and patronage by the church, and an admonition by the bishop that he should leave the Oneidas to their own devices in the future; and the closing of the New York State and the United States government departments against him forever thereafter. Thus terminated, after nearly twenty years, the connection of the Rev. Eleazer Williams with the Oneida Indians; and practically ending his career as a missionary to the Western tribes, and a minister of the Episcopal church—brought about by no one's fault but his own—certainly not that of the Oneidas; nor were they incited to the course taken finally by any extraneous influences, but solely on their own motion, and by the imperative necessity of self defense.

From this time on till about 1853, this strange man was scarcely heard of—seemed to have dropped out of sight; till, presto! he re-appears in the new *role* of the dauphin. And how I am asked, could he have been the dauphin—the lost prince, Louis XVII? And further, did he in the whole time of my acquaintance with him, ever give out, by word or sign, any claim to it? The answer to the last part of the question must be special—to give him and his apologists the full benefit of all he ever did say in my hearing, that would bear such construction. After I had been with him near a year he dropped a few remarks, that, but for his dauphin claim, thirty years after, I should have entirely forgotten.

Williams was not a little vain of his personal appearance. As he was one day making his toilet, after shaving, and while adjusting his clothes and admiring himself in the glass, he challenged me to admire his fine looks, especially his keen eye, rosy cheeks, and

bright countenance; and truth to say, he was not bad looking at the age of thirty or thirty-five. "See," said he, "is this the face of a savage? How much Indian blood is there?" "We will see," he says, "in time, whether the Indian or white man prevails in this face." Such is the substance—almost the precise words he used, and it was the first, last and only time of his talk of the kind to me. Could that be construed into a claim to be the dauphin or a Frenchman? I understood it to be an allusion to his descent from the Williams family, as his paternity on that side was ever his theme—his constant boast—and such I still believe it to have been. This is all that ever fell from his lips, in my hearing, that could by any possibility have been construed into a claim to anything but his Williams-Caughnawaga Indian origin. Well, then, could he have been the dauphin? He had never conceived the idea till after his fall from the dizzy height he had soared to in his dreams, as despot of Indian empire. A considerable part of his library remained; his reading was ever that of narrative and history; of course that of France was not omitted. The suggestion of dauphin might have been drawn from his books, though Col. Eastman claims it was had from him.

I shall not attempt a discussion of the possibility of Louis XVII having escaped from prison in France, and his subsequent arrival in this country, further than to observe, if, indeed, he did so, and, as claimed by Dr. Hanson, was domiciled with the Caughnawaga Indians at St. Regis, it is no more than a reasonable presumption, that subject to the hardships of Indian fare and diet, in his weak and sickly state, he died there very soon after his arrival.

With these possibilities in view, why may not the Indian, Eleazer Williams, as well set up in the dauphin business as Naundorff and many other pretenders? Shall I be answered that on account of Williams' childlike simplicity, rendering him totally incapable of intrigue or deceit, the thing would be impossible? I answer that *malgre* all that is said on this point to the contrary by Dr. Hanson in the *Lost Prince*, and by Dr. Hawks, Eleazer Williams was the most perfect adept at fraud, deceit, and intrigue that the world ever produced. That if Naundorf and

Richemont could so far impose on the whole French ministry as to make the king on his throne tremble for safety, Williams was just the man with his assumed simplicity to impose successfully upon the easy credulity of Dr. Hanson, who, by his own showing, was more than half convinced in advance. It is no pleasant task to differ with one of Dr. Hanson's high standing; and if seeming in any way to impeach the record of the *Lost Prince*, we would on no account be understood as doubting the entire good faith of the author of that work. As to the testimony therein given to the public in support of the pretensions of Williams to the claim to be Louis XVII, nearly all that is material seems to have been derived from Williams himself, and as such is inadmissible.

I am not insensible of the bewitching idea of a "Bourbon among us," and the great eclat derived from it. The volume, to the uninformed reader, seems something better than romance; to one that has been "behind the scenes," as it were—who knew the pretender most thoroughly, the narrative is anything but reality, and can hardly be read with patience.

But to the consideration of his being dauphin or not? He could not have been; first, because he was born of half-breed Indian parents at Caughnawaga. His own testimony before he had thought of being dauphin supports this. He maintained this for days and months before the simple Oneidas, when he first came here giving numerous instances of his child life, and his early youth.

His person bore ample evidence of his Indian extraction. His skin was dark and of peculiar Indian texture. His hair, eyebrows and eye-lashes were of the most inky raven blackness, such as no blonde ever wore.

His father, Thomas Williams, visited Oneida twice while I was with his son. The remark was special, and made by many, how much Williams favored his father. If, as is maintained by Dr. Hanson, Williams had the Bourbon cast of countenance, the father, Thomas Williams was a Bourbon before him; as the particular cast of countenance named by Dr. Hanson was stronger in the father than in the son. As to his being a Frenchman, it is not at all impossible; half the Caughnawaga Indians through their

marriage with the Canadians, might have been Frenchmen—Thomas Williams with others.

Eleazer Williams spoke the Mohawk language (the dialect of the St. Regis Indians) in perfection. Had he been the dauphin, he never could have learned it in the time he claims to have been with the Indians. This proof is irrefragible—this fact is equally so: he could not speak a word of French decently, which, had he been a son of Marie Antoinette, he never could have so completely forgotten. I have heard his wife, a French lady, say to him, and more than once, “ Now, Mr. Williams, I do beg of you never to try to talk French; you cannot speak a single word right.” And this was true. He spoke just such French as you would expect an ignorant band of Indians on the borders of Canada to acquire, and nothing more, and even that but poorly. He could read the easy French of narrative and history quite well; but pronounce it he could not at all. Instance the word *poisson*, a fish, which there was frequent occasion for speaking at Green Bay; instead of giving the sharp sound to the ss, he would immediately convert it into z, and make the word poison; and so of nearly all other French words. The reason for all clearly was that he had never heard the language spoken in his childhood. But with the Mokawk the case was exactly the reverse.

He had not a scintillation of memory of events in Europe—did not pretend to have; and attempts to account for that deficiency, by making himself out to have been idiotic till the twelfth or fifteenth year of his life, and to have recovered his senses by an accident—the pounding of his head against a rock on Lake George!! The story is too ridiculous and absurd to find place in a reasonable mind, and may be dismissed without further colloquy; which brings us to the true reason of his non-recollection of European events, viz.—he never was there.

But Dr. Hanson persists that he is not an Indian, and would prove it by the affidavit of the mother, old Mary Ann Williams. Poor old lady; she seems to have been a great stumbling block in the way of the would-be-dauphin. Dr. Hanson styles it the “battle of the affidavits;” meaning, I suppose, the two given by old lady Mary. The first is straightforward enough, as published

in the *Courrier des Etats Unis*; but destroying, as it did totally, all Williams' pretensions, it had to be got rid of in some way. Dr. Hanson says it was "taken down in Mohawk, by an Indian." This is curt enough, and I have no doubt is as true as it is curt; but he does not tell us who the Indian was that "took it down in Mohawk." I propose inquiring a little after this Indian that wrote the Mohawk language so nicely. This affidavit has certain earmarks, revealing to my mind most clearly its paternity.

It will be remembered that I have already stated, that Williams had made a radical reform in the manner in writing the Mohawk language, especially in the orthography. Hitherto Brant and the Catholic priests had used three-fourths or more of our English alphabet in writing the Mohawk. Williams changed all that, using only eleven of our letters, all told. He was the man that made that change, and the only individual ever I knew that adhered to that system in writing the language. All others would still get in more of the letters, as q, u, for Williams' k, w; and g, e, for k, e; and chi for Williams' tsi, and many others. Williams' method was unique, and peculiarly *his own*. Any person who will examine this affidavit, "taken down by a Mohawk Indian," will find Williams' orthography of the language throughout—not transgressed in a single instance; evidence to me that the Mohawk Indian who took it down was Eleazer Williams himself. Not another living Indian anywhere would have used that orthography faithfully to the end. But there is still further evidence, and that is the language—the terms used. They are not such as would proceed from the mouth of poor old lady Mary by any means. Many of them are high, refined, such as are used by the Indian orators in their speeches in council—the Indian council *court language*. No old Mary Ann Williams, nor any common Mohawk Indian, ever gave utterance to the language of this affidavit. It was drawn by Williams himself, beyond a doubt.

But what about Dr. Hanson's "correction of the translation?" Just this, that the language was so high that the interpreter may not have understood it—the correction had to be made by Williams, the only one who did understand it; and whether this correction was true or otherwise, one thing is certain—that the said

alteration of the rendering of the interpreter is made in the interest of the would-be-dauphin. Seeing, then, that this Mohawk Indian affidavit was made by Williams, and is inadmissible, old lady Mary Ann's first affidavit is unimpeached. We are left then to the testimony of Dr. Hanson's book, the *Lost Prince*. Is that conclusive?

I make no comments on the map Dr. Hanson brings from abroad, because I know nothing of it personally, unless, indeed, I except the single case of the Frenchman De Ferriere, mentioned on page 350. The effort is to make out this man De Ferriere to have been a French refugee, and a former *attaché* of the royal family at the time of the Revolution, and that he knew Williams as being Louis XVII, &c. This man was living near Oneida in 1820 to 1830. I knew him well; he had married a sister of Martinus Denny, the tribal interpreter. He had amassed a competence, having a good farm with mills, about eight miles west of Oneida. I knew well the estimation in which he held Williams—that he regarded him as a fraud, living on the credulity of the Indians. The men were at swords' points while I was there. Williams hated him cordially, and was always cautioning the Indians against him. They had no interpreter whatever. It is not I think, "well known that he, De Ferriere, went to Europe a poor man," nor "that he returned a rich one," as stated in the *Lost Prince*. He had a handsome property when he went, and it was not, as anybody knew, much increased on his return. I never heard before that "he was in correspondence with the royal family."*

* Rev. C. F. Robertson became possessed of Mr. Williams' papers, and wrote an article, "The Last of the Bourbon Story," which appeared in Putnam's *Magazine* in July, 1868, in which this corroborative evidence of Gen. Ellis' view occurs. "In giving this [second] affidavit, Mr. Hanson makes no mention of Mr. Williams' connection with it, but says that it was uttered freely by Mrs. Williams in Mohawk, and afterwards translated into English. What surprised us, therefore, in looking over the papers, was to find several memoranda in Mr. Williams' handwriting in English, which showed that the affidavit had really been composed by him. There were rough copies containing erasures and interlineations, showing how the affidavit had been made up, and all indicating an apparent purpose to steal the desired avowal of his adoption from his mother, without making too broad an issue." L. C. D.

Mrs. Hammond's excellent *History of Madison County, N. Y.*, enables us to add a brief note concerning Col. Angel De Ferriere. He was of a noble French family, educated at a military school, and served in the army of Louis XVI,

Great importance is attached by the author of the *Lost Prince* to Mr. Williams' journals. I cannot endorse this. For the four years I was with him, the custodian of his papers, I never saw these journals. I feel confident they had no existence at that time. There was, truly, a large mass of old papers, in every conceivable form—mostly old letters; but among the whole, nothing that would bear the name of journal.

Further, during the time I was with him, he had no custom of keeping a journal, or making any daily record of events. He claimed to have, and really did pass off, a most tenacious memory—his record was kept in his head.

These journals, as they appear in the *Lost Prince*, with much more show to me that they, like most of his dauphin documents, were after-thoughts, produced for a purpose, and were not written by Williams. Most of them are in tolerable English, while up to the time of my separation from him, covering the period during which many of these papers purported to have been written, Williams could not write a sentence in tolerably decent English—could not pen an order on a store for a pound of tea, without some bad blunder. Whoever, then, wrote these journals and a hundred other papers, (witness his supposed letter to Dr. Stephen W. Williams, on pp. 443–44, of the *Lost Prince*, with many others.) it is clear to my mind it never was Eleazer Williams.

STEVENS POINT, Aug. 21, 1879.

until the revolutionary party forced him to flee to Holland; whence, in 1793, he sailed for America, bringing means with him; married a Miss Dennie, possessing a tinge of Indian blood, and became wealthy in farms, mills and houses, in Madison County—having about 3,000 acres of valuable lands. After this, in 1817, he returned to France, and realized quite a large sum from the princely estates of his family.

It was out of this fact that Mr. Williams manufactured the mysterious innuendo that De Ferriere obtained this wealth from the Bourbon family.

L. C. D.

Additional Notes on Eleazer Williams

By Lyman C. Draper

It is not pertinent to the subject of Eleazer Williams' claims to the dauphinship to prove, or disprove, whether young Louis actually died in his prison in the Temple, in June, 1795.

In 1852, there appeared in Paris a work on *Louis XVII—his Life—his Sufferings—his Death*, by A. De Beauchesne. This work was translated into English and edited by William Hazlitt; it appeared in London in 1853, and was published the same year in New York by the Harpers. An abbreviated edition of the same work also appeared in New York in that year; and a second French edition at Paris in 1871. This work has, on all hands, been regarded as faithful, painstaking, and trustworthy.

De Beauchesne gives the records of the Temple as to the dauphin's death. The corpse was visited, and its identity recognized, by above twenty persons, of whom five were officers, and four commissioners on duty at the post; and the majority of those persons certified that they had seen the dauphin at the Tuilleries or the Temple, and *knew the dead body to be his*. The author intimately knew Lasne and Gomin, the two last keepers of the Tower, and in whose arms Louis the Seventeenth expired. This able writer has produced what he asserts, and all unprejudiced readers believe, "not only the certitude, but also the material, authentic proof that the dauphin of France, son of Louis XVI, really died within the Temple" in 1795; that his *convictions* of the dauphin's death have "the character of a *certainly authentically demonstrated*," and adds: "A curse upon me if my mind, in possession of the truth, should suffer my pen to lie."

But were it possible that the dauphin escaped from his prison, all the facts in the case go to prove that Eleazer Williams could

not have been the lost prince—for he was too young, and was, moreover, a veritable Indian.

In the further discussion of the dauphin question, a few points may be especially noted.

1. Mr. Williams' birth-year and age do not correspond with those of the real dauphin, who was born in 1785. If the proof is pretty conclusive that he was some five years younger than Louis XVII, then his claim to the dauphinship was preposterous, and falls to the ground. In this view of the case, it matters little whether the young Louis was actually abused by his tyrant-keepers while incarcerated in prison till death released him from his sufferings, or whether he was spirited away—Eleazer Williams was not, and could not have been, the person thus secretly removed from prison, if, indeed, the dauphin was thus mysteriously disposed of. And had he been brought to America, there was no possible reason for concealing his escape and safety, but, on the contrary, every motive for proclaiming it.

The late Rev. Calvin Colton, who was somewhat Williams' senior, and his fellow schoolmate at Long Meadow, Massachusetts, mentions in his *Tour of the American Lakes* in 1830, that when he first met this member of the noted Anglo-Indian family of Williams—in 1800—he was "perhaps ten years old." The late Dr. Stephen W. Williams, who knew him from the time when "he was quite young," says: "Eleazer has frequently told me that he was born about the year 1790—by this he did not mean five years before, or five years after. We have often compared ages, and he called his age about the same as mine, and I was born in the year 1790." Dr. Williams adds, that Nathan Hale, LL. D., long editor of the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, with whose father, at Westhampton, Massachusetts, Eleazer lived for some time, says, when he "first saw him, in 1800, he was then but ten years of age;" and the late Gov. Charles K. Williams, of Vermont, who knew Eleazer Williams from 1812, wrote to Dr. Williams in 1853: "Although I cannot fix upon any particular data, yet my impression is the same as yours, that he was born in 1790."

Gen. A. G. Ellis, in a letter before me, states: "When I first knew Williams at Oneida, in 1820, he appeared to be about

thirty years old, and claimed to be about twenty-seven;" and Hon. H. S. Baird, who knew him well, says when he first became acquainted with him, in 1823, he judged him to have been about thirty. Hon. M. L. Martin, who became acquainted with him some four years later, thinks his appearance at that time indicated a person born about 1790-92. A careful examination of Catlin's portrait of Williams, taken in 1832, and which his widow and others pronounce a faithful likeness, left the strong conviction on the minds of Judge Martin and the writer, that he could not much, if any, have exceeded forty when taken.

But Williams' own statement—in his own handwriting, penned many years before the dauphin scheme had been concocted, fixes his birth-year in 1792. This curious document, his application for membership in the Masonic lodge at Green Bay, now preserved, through the kindness of the late Hon. H. S. Baird, in the archives of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, is as follows:

"To the Master, Wardens and Brothers of Menomonee Lodge:

"Your petitioner humbly states, that having long had a favorable opinion of your ancient institution, he is desirous of becoming a member thereof, if found worthy.

"He was born at Sault St. Louis; is thirty-two years of age; by profession a clergyman.

ELEAZER WILLIAMS."

"GREEN BAY, Oct. 7, 1824."

Although Mr. Williams asserts positively that he was born in 1792, yet it is quite certain that neither he nor his parents knew the exact time of his birth. His parents—part Indian—and uneducated, evidently kept no family record; and Mr. Williams approximated, as nearly as he could, to the period when he was born. His mother, in her first, and doubtless only genuine affidavit, stated that Eleazer was "about nine years old" when he went to the Long Meadow school—which was in January, 1800; and this would point to about 1790 as his birth-year. His mother also declared that he was her fourth child, and was born in the spring, or in June. Eleazer Williams, in his information communicated to Dr. S. W. Williams for his *Genealogy of the Williams' Family*, places himself as the fourth in the order of births

of his mother's children. The church register proves that the third child was born April 28th, 1786; and the fifth, on the 5th of May, 1791. Eleazer was therefore probably born in the spring of 1790, which would have made him in his tenth year when he went to Long Meadow. The weight of evidence goes to sustain this conclusion.

While the church register at St. Regis has preserved the dates of his brothers and sisters, that of Eleazer does not appear. This is accounted for by Rev. Dr. S. K. Lothrop, of Boston, who lectured in that city on the dauphinship claim, in Feb., 1853. He had, when a youth, known Mr. Williams in Oneida County, N. Y., during the period of 1816-18, and had visited him in Wisconsin in 1845, and received visits from him in Boston in 1843 and 1848. Thus it was, that Dr. Lothrop felt in some measure prepared to speak of Mr. Williams in his Boston lecture. In a recent letter, Dr. Lothrop writes, that wishing further information concerning Williams' birth and parentage, he applied to an old friend, Rev. Mr. Wetmore, then a Presbyterian missionary in northern New York, who personally knew both Williams and his mother; and who, through a friend, procured and sent the doctor a letter from Mrs. Williams, "in which she insisted that Eleazer was her son; that the reason why his name did not appear on the baptismal register with the other children was that he was born while she and her husband were on a hunting tramp, and that he was baptized by the Catholic priest at Whitehall, N. Y.; that the idea that he was the dauphin was put into his head by some French officers, some ten or twelve years before, who coming from Montreal to Caughnawaga, met him at her house and told him that he looked like the Bourbons (which was undoubtedly the case); that he was about the same age the dauphin would have been, and that perhaps he was the dauphin himself; and that he had brooded over this till it had made him crazy; but that he was certainly her son, and no Bourbon at all."

It may be added, that after having talked over the subject of his being the dauphin at Dr. S. W. Williams', in 1851, some one of the family inquired of him concerning his age, when he replied: "If I am Williams, I am so old; but if I am the dauphin, I am

older." Neither Mr. Williams' widow, nor his son, have any record of his age, nor any definite opinion on the subject.

2. He was an Indian, and no Frenchman. Bishop Hobart, the early patron and long personal friend of Williams, declares in his address on the state of the church, in October, 1815, published in the *Christian Register* of July following, that Mr. Williams "was born among the Indians;" and in Dr. Morse's *Report* of his visit to the Indian tribes in 1820, Bishop Hobart again refers to him as "of Indian extraction." Dr. Morse himself, who must have known Williams personally, speaks of him as "of Indian extraction, and the son of a chief of the Iroquois nation, among whom he was born." The late Dr. Stephen W. Williams, who had known him from his youth, declared in 1853, that he had no doubt of his regular descent from Eunice Williams, the Deerfield captive; and "notwithstanding all that has been said about his having no Indian appearance about him, and no Indian blood in his veins, I think in many respects he resembled an Indian half-breed," and added that he examined a scar on his side, where he was wounded in the War of 1812, and the skin on his body "at that time was more the color of an Indian than a white man."

"One who had been much accustomed to see Indians and half-breeds," writes Gen. A. G. Ellis, "could hardly be mistaken in regard to Williams. He had all the marks of a half-breed; his skin, even in youth was quite dark, his hair a jet black. He could not possibly have been a blonde, as is claimed for the dauphin. His copper color increased greatly with his age; the last time I saw him, when he was about sixty years of age, he was dark enough for a three-quarter Indian, and looked just like one. About his ears, whether evidence of his Indian blood or not, they were much turned forward—protruded from the head; and he always made an effort in walking, to *turn out* his toes; but forgetting it, he would, Indian-like, immediately turn them in. One of the most decisive marks of his Indian parentage, to my mind, was his mother-tongue—his speech; he was most perfect in the *Iroquois*, while he could not pronounce a syllable correctly in *French*. Could he have entirely lost the use of his mother tongue, and gained the other, if he had been the child of the

French queen? Most assuredly he could not. He was never in France."

Speaking of Williams' first trip to Green Bay, in 1821, Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, of Detroit, observes: "I knew him well at that time, and long afterwards. Governor Cass also knew him well, and saw him often. We used to compare notes about him, and we regarded him as 'rather fishy.' And when his claim to heirship of the throne of *Le Grand Monarque* came before the public, the governor laughed heartily. Williams had all the peculiarities of a half-breed Indian, as undoubtedly he was. If he had been otherwise, mentally or morally, his hair and complexion would have stamped him as of mixed savage and civilized blood; and he had, moreover, that peculiar tint of complexion which distinguishes the half-breeds among the Six Nations from those of the West."

A writer in the New York *Telescope*, of June 25th, 1825, who signs himself "An Oneida County Observer," declares that Williams was a "*half-blood* Iroquois"—taking pains to put the word "half-blood" in italics, as if to make it all the more emphatic.

The late Hon. John Y. Smith, who also knew Williams well from 1828 till 1837, and was for some time a fellow boarder at the same table with him at Green Bay, states: "I was familiar with mixed blood of every grade, from octoroon whites to octoroon Indians. Half-breeds, as every one knows who has seen much of frontier life, present opposite extremes of complexion in different individuals, some being nearly white, and others being darker even than pure Indians. Williams would have passed for a pure Indian, with just a suspicion of the African in his complexion and features. Gov. Cass, who was as familiar with every variety of mixed bloods as any man in the country, ridiculed the idea that Williams, whom he knew well was a pure Frenchman, and declared in a public article, that he was a fair type of the Indian half-breed."

In Gov. Cass' newspaper article, he said of Mr. Williams: "I have known him for almost thirty years, and under various circumstances of official and personal intercourse. I have known him as an Indian half-breed of the St. Regis band. * * * No man

acquainted with our aboriginal race, and who has seen Mr. Williams, can for a moment doubt his descent from that stock. His color, his features, and the conformation of his face, testify to his origin. They present the very appearance which everywhere marks the half-breed Indian."

John G. Shea, L. L. D., the distinguished antiquarian and historian, declared in the *American Historical Record*, in July, 1872: "Indianologists assure me that his ears were a sure mark of his Indian origin."

A writer in the New York *Christian Inquirer*, of Feb. 12, 1853, states of Eleazer Williams: "He is one-quarter Indian, as his physiognomy, it must be confessed, pretty plainly shows."

The Catlin portrait of Mr. Williams certainly gives him the full average Indian tinge of complexion.

Eunice Williams, the Deerfield captive of 1704, became assimilated with the Indians—married a young Indian chief, and one of their children, Mary, married a Frenchman and became the mother of Thomas Williams, the father of Eleazer; and Thomas married an Indian woman. In her affidavit, Mrs. Williams declares that "her son Eleazer very strongly resembles his father, Thomas Williams;" and Gen. Ellis refers to two visits Thomas Williams made to Oneida Castle while he was there; during which that "the remark was special, and made by many, how much Eleazer Williams favored his father."

In his conversations with Rev. Calvin Colton, in 1830, Mr. Williams is twice recorded in Mr. Colton's *Tour*, as declaring: "I am a Canadian by birth, you know." Prince de Joinville's secretary wrote that Williams stated to the prince in their interview in 1841, that "his mother was an Indian woman." While Eleazer Williams was corresponding with Dr. S. W. Williams, communicating facts for a genealogy of the Williams' family, he frequently spoke of his "grandfather" or "grandsire," in the sense of an ancestor—referring to the Rev. John Williams, the father of Eunice, the captive, from whom he lineally descended.

When rehearsing the story of his early life at Oneida, in 1820-21, as related by Gen. Ellis, he mentioned that Caughnawaga was, as he supposed, his birth-place, and Thomas Williams was his father;

and in his application, in 1824, for Masonic membership, he stated that he was, as he believed, born at Sault St. Louis, which is but another name for Caughnawaga or St. Regis, on the border of Canada, near Montreal.

Mr. Williams, when he first visited Green Bay, in 1821, called on his old acquaintance James J. Porlier, a native of Montreal, and who came to Wisconsin about the time, or before Williams' birth, but often visited Montreal in the procurement of goods for the Indian trade, the sale of his furs and peltries, and to place his children there for their education. During these visits Mr. Porlier frequently saw Thomas Williams and his family at St. Regis. After Mr. Williams left, Judge Porlier's young son, Louis, who was present at the interview, and judging that the visitor was of Indian descent, made inquiry of his father who the stranger was? "Why," replied Mr. Porlier, "you have often heard me speak of the St. Regis chief, Thomas Williams—*this is his son.*" Judge Porlier, who had known him from his very boyhood, never intimated any suspicion that Mr. Williams was other than a blood descendant of the St. Regis chieftain.

3. His hypocrisy and tergiversations. Dr. F. B. Hough, the well-known historian, who knew Mr. Williams well, says: "It is believed that no person intimately acquainted with Mr. Williams will deny, that he possessed an ingenious faculty for collating the plausible coincidences which make up the warp and woof of the narrative" of his dauphinship claim.

It is evident that much of the "warp and woof" of this story was the result of Mr. Williams' "ingenious faculty" of manufacturing statements to suit the occasion. In Dr. Hanson's work, it is stated, that part of the means for Williams' early education came from an unknown source. Rev. C. F. Robertson, Williams' literary executor, now bishop of Missouri, states in Putnam's *Magazine*, for July, 1868, that he found among the Williams' papers packages of original bills for his education, and appropriations to meet them by the benevolent societies of Massachusetts, who were educating him with a view to future missionary labors. Hanson quoted an Albany authority that a Mr. Bleeker, of that city, was the agent who supplied Thomas Williams with money

for the education of the foreign boy; Mr. Robertson found among the papers of Mr. Williams a communication, in Williams' handwriting, sent under a fictitious signature, to the Albany *Knickerbocker* for publication, giving the Bleeker story, which was the authority for Hanson's statement. On one occasion, before the dauphin invention got before the public, Williams took a slip, printed only on one side of a piece of paper, to Hon. C. D. Robinson, of the Green Bay *Advocate*, desiring its insertion, and it was published. It was one of the New Orleans yarns, mysteriously suggesting that the Lost Prince was believed to be in America among the Indians, or something of that sort. The fact that the slip was printed only on one side, was to Mr. Robinson, evidence that it had not been clipped from any newspaper.

In a letter written by Mr. Williams to E. Irving, of New York, in July, 1848, which Rev. Mr. Robertson saw, he returned thanks for the pains Mr. Irving had taken in going to half a dozen newspaper offices before he succeeded in getting a notice of the dauphin published.

General Cass, in his newspaper article, in March, 1853, states: "There is in existence a letter written by Mr. Williams, to a person of his acquaintance, some three years ago, in which he alluded to a prevailing rumor of his being connected with the Bourbons, and asking the person to whom it was addressed, whether there was any foundation for the story. He made not the most distant allusion to the interview with the Prince de Joinville, to his letters, or to the other facts he now states, which would have rendered his inquiry wholly unnecessary. He was informed that there was not, in the opinion of his correspondent, the least foundation for such an idle story. And there the communication dropped. His letter was utterly inconsistent with any knowledge of the facts he now asserts to be true." Mr. Williams, in writing to Gen. Cass, as it is plainly inferential that he did, seeking some word of encouragement, received from that able student of history, quite too frank a reply to gratify his inordinate pride, or pander to his ignoble hopes.

Mr. Hanson must have been duped when he stated in Mr. Williams' behalf, that so far from bringing his claims before the public,

Mr. Williams had been strongly averse to it. Bishop Robertson further states, that when Williams was requested to exhibit certain autograph letters he professed to have received from Louis Philip, king of the French, the secretary of Louis Napoleon, several French bishops and one cardinal, also important medals, he always found it convenient to say that they had been lost, or burnt, or mysteriously stolen; yet large quantities of less important correspondence were very carefully preserved.

Mr. Williams, in his conversations with Mr. Hanson, represented that when Prince de Joinville disclosed to him at Green Bay, in 1841, that he was the son of a king—the long lost prince—heir to the throne of France—the communication was so startling and unexpected, that he was dumbfounded and incredulous.

To show the hypocrisy of Williams, not to say his untruthfulness, in this statement, it is only necessary to cite the communication in the *New York Courier des Etats-Unis*, in February, 1854, of George W. Haskins, long editor of the *Buffalo Express*. Mr. Haskins states that nearly two years before the Prince de Joinville's journey in this country, Williams confided to him at Buffalo, that he was the real dauphin of France, relating all the imaginary circumstances Mr. Hanson has collected—the idiocy of his early life, the fortunate fall into Lake George, and consequent miraculous restoration of his memory—the residence of his guardian in New Orleans, etc. Mr. Haskins was a well-known and honored citizen of Buffalo, since deceased, an elder brother of the scientist and electrician of Milwaukee, Prof. Charles H. Haskins; and his statement is worthy of all confidence.

The simple facts, divested of all adornment and imagination, connected with Mr. Williams and the Prince de Joinville's interview, as related by Hon. M. L. Martin, who then resided, and still resides, at Green Bay, are these: He learned from Captain Shook, who commanded the steamer "Columbia," on which the prince and party reached the Bay, that when they landed at Mackinaw, Williams came on board; and in response to an inquiry by the prince for some proper person at Green Bay who could impart to him information concerning the Indian tribes and the country generally, the captain at once suggested Mr. Wil-

liams as the very man for the occasion, and introduced him; that nothing was said indicating any previous knowledge, on the part of the prince, of Williams' character or history; that their conversation was largely on Indians and Indian matters—nothing whatever about the dauphin, or anything remotely touching the subject.

This invention by Mr. Williams, of Prince de Joinville's pretended revelation, was a most brazen venture, utterly improbable in itself; as it was weak and foolish to suppose for a moment, even had it been true, that the prince would have been trying to sow the seeds of family dissension—what might prove his father's overthrow and the ruin of his family; and encourage an obscure Protestant clergyman, in the backwoods of America, with royal hopes, when it was well known that Louis Philip, his family, and all France, were thoroughly Catholic. It was a most preposterous, reckless, and bare-faced imposition; and its prompt and positive denial might well have been expected.

When the Hanson story reached the prince, he, through his secretary, pronounced the whole pretended revelation "from one end to the other, a work of the imagination, a fable woven wholesale, a speculation upon the public credulity." Mr. Hanson freely admits that the prince "has the reputation of being a high-minded and honorable gentleman." The prince's testimony stands unimpeached.

Mr. Williams frequently stated to his kinsman, Dr. S. W. Williams and his family, as related by the doctor in his edition of the *Redeemed Captive*, that "his visit from the prince was in consequence of his relationship to his wife," and that he received his presents from the same cause; and that "his stories here were much at variance with the magazine" narrative as given by Mr. Hanson.

Rev. Dr. Lothrop writes that Mr. Williams gave him, both in 1843 and 1848, an account of his interview with the Prince de Joinville, but differing from each other, and differing in many important points from Dr. Hanson's statements in Putnam's *Magazine* of January 1852.

And other stories of Mr. Williams were much at variance with

each other. As Gen. Ellis relates, that Williams at the period of 1820-21, was a whole year or more rehearsing to the Oneidas the story of his younger life, full of details of his Indian father, that he himself was born, as he believed, at Caughnawaga or St. Regis; relating many a wondrous tale of his boyish exploits from three years old and upwards; but when the dauphin idea got possession of him, then he suddenly found out he had no memory of his youthful days whatever, and never had: "I know nothing about my infancy. Everything that occurred to me is blotted out, entirely erased, irrecoverably gone. My mind is a blank until thirteen or fourteen years of age," and adds that he "was an idiot;" then accidentally striking his head on a rock in Lake George, his faculties were brightened—except so far as related to his boyhood days. When about ten years of age, as we have seen, he was sufficiently bright to be sent to school with a view of being fitted for the ministry and missionary life; and no one at that period suspected him of being in the least demented. On the contrary, a writer in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, of February 17, 1853, states on the authority of one of Williams' schoolmates at the time, that Eleazer "soon became fond of his books" and "made satisfactory progress" in his studies, which could not, in truth, be said of any idiotic boy.

The story related of Mr. Williams by Hon. J. Y. Smith, in the sixth volume of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, on the authority of Gen. Ellis, and recently corroborated with some unimportant corrections, by the General himself, is thoroughly characteristic of the man. Williams and Ellis accompanied Col. Stambaugh on his mission to Washington on Indian affairs, in 1830, and while tarrying at Detroit, Williams and the general were invited to tea by the lady of a prominent Episcopalian of that city—the commanding officer of the garrison. When asked if he would take tea or coffee, Mr. Williams declined on the plea of the extreme delicacy of his health—and so of milk; and only accepted some warm water, with a little milk in it. And so with the various good things with which the table was spread and were offered him; only a very thin bit of dry toast would suit his deli-

cate stomach. And so he nibbled his dry toast and sipped his cup of warm water. Returning to his hotel late in the evening, Williams determined to make amends for his enforced spare diet, and ordered the waiter to set on some cold ham, and other substantial to match; and Gen. Ellis declared that he verily believed Williams ate fully two pounds of that ham—enough for three stout men; he then arose, gave a hearty Indian chuckle, and retired for the night, and the general could not perceive that the parson's delicate stomach was any the worse for his hearty meal the next day.

He ate so enormously as to excite the attention of the whole Indian party; and when Gen. Ellis informed them of Williams' refusal to eat at the officer's party, and the reason he assigned for it, they all laughed immoderately, declaring it was one of his tricks to excite sympathy, or perhaps induce a donation by that means. Such hypocritical *acting* was a very common occurrence with him. Gen. Ellis concludes this characteristic anecdote with this remark: "It was his chief effort never to *speak* or *act* a truth, but always a *falsehood*. If he could not mislead his hearers, he would scarcely talk at all: with him words were not used to exhibit, but always to conceal the truth; and he was the most perfect adept at fraud, deceit and intrigue that the world ever produced."

Dr. John G. Shea, in the *American Historical Record*, for July, 1872, asks if Eleazer Williams was not insane, or led away by strange delusions? He then states that while in Canada, prior to the publication, in 1852, of his *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, with the original journal and map of Marquette in his hands, he received a letter from the office of the secretary of state at Albany, stating that the Rev. Eleazer Williams proposed to sell to the State, Marquette's original journal and map, which, with other papers he professed to have found in a box in the walls of the old church at Sault St. Louis, Canada, at a time when it was abandoned and in ruins. Dr. Shea replied that the present church was never in any such ruinous condition; that its predecessor had been taken down to make way for the present one, years before, and the box-finding was, therefore, clearly a delusion;

and that he then having the Marquette journal and map in his hands, strongly favored the idea that Mr. Williams had fallen into a delusion on that point also. Mr. Williams was careful never to produce the documents he pretended to have, either before or after Dr. Shea's publication, to correct or dispute his work. Dr. Shea adds: "When, at a later day, he claimed to be Louis XVII, I put it down as simply another freak of an evidently insane man."

Rev. Dr. Lothrop, in his MS. letter, states, that such were the discrepancies between Williams' two narratives made to him, and that made to Mr. Hanson, with reference to the Prince de Joinville interview, and other matters, could not have been made by a perfectly clear and sound mind; and hence came to the conclusion that the only satisfactory solution of the matter was that Mr. Williams was a monomaniac upon this dauphinship subject, and his mother, as already shown, declared that her son had brooded over the dauphinship matter, after it had been suggested to him by the French officers, till it made him crazy.

It might, perhaps, be charitable, as Dr. Shea, Dr. Lothrop, and Mrs. Williams suggest, to attribute all of Eleazer Williams' vagaries, deceptions, and tergiversations to insanity; but not a few would feel disposed to conclude that there was too much method in his schemes to warrant such an explanation.

Mr. Williams' Christian name, Eleazer, is somewhat significant. We learn from his memoir of his father, Thomas Williams, written in 1852, and published with an introduction by Dr. F. B. Hough in 1859, that the mother of Eunice Williams, the captive, was a daughter of Rev. Eleazer Mather, of Northampton; and, doubtless, in honor of this progenitor no less than nine of his descendants in the Williams' connection alone, as shown by Dr. Stephen W. Williams' *Genealogy and History of the Williams Family*, bore the name of Eleazer; and our dauphin hero makes the tenth. It is very suggestive that this name was given him to recognize and perpetuate that of his ancestor, who is said to have been "a man of talents and exalted piety."

Had he really been young Louis XVIIth, domiciled among the Indians at the age of ten, it is not at all probable that the humble

Puritan name of Eleazer would have been selected for him; and the introduction of a French youth into an Indian settlement, so strangely different from the Indian lads around him, would have excited uncommon attention, and been well preserved in the memories of the people.

A couple of anecdotes will serve to show that Mr. Williams, when among those who knew him well, made no pretension of faith in his dauphinship claim. He solicited Hon. Charles D. Robinson, of Green Bay, since secretary of state of Wisconsin, to prepare a volume on his claim—that he might occupy his library while writing the work, and he should be supplied with all needful documents for the purpose. With this understanding, Williams soon after left for the East, fell in with Rev. Mr. Hanson, who prepared *The Lost Prince*. The next time Col. Robinson met Williams was at Baltimore, when the latter inquired of his friend if he had seen Hanson's work? Col. Robinson replied that he had, and had read it with a great deal of interest. What do you think of it, Mr. Robinson? "It is admirably written," rejoined the Colonel, "far better than I could have done it; *but I don't believe there is a word of truth in it.*" Williams broke out into a hearty laugh, seeming to appreciate the point, and added, "*Nor do I, either.*"

After the dauphinship story had appeared, Williams visited Butte des Morts, and meeting his old friend Alexander Grignon, asked him if he had heard anything about the dauphin matter? "Yes, I have," was the reply, accompanied with a hearty laugh, evincing his total unbelief in the story. "It is not me," said Williams; "they wanted it so; and I don't care." So Mr. Grignon related to Louis B. Porlier at the time.

It is a little singular that Mr. Williams never referred to the dauphinship claim to his wife or son, as they informed the writer; and Mrs. Williams adds that the first she ever heard of it was from a Green Bay friend, after its first publication in Putnam's *Magazine*.*

* An Indian lover presents to the parents some *douceur* to secure the hand of the dusky maiden of his choice. So, after the Indian fashion, when Mr. Williams, in 1823, became silently smitten with the charms of Miss Mary Jourdain, then only in her fourteenth year, and the belle of the Fox River valley,

With reference to Williams' object in starting the dauphinship story, Hon. Morgan L. Martin, who knew him long and well, believes that he was ambitious of distinction, and fed the flame in such ways as his reading and reflection suggested. He used to talk of Pontiac's confederacy; and hinted if it could be repeated and made strong, the Indians might even yet "wipe out the whites." But his Indian empire scheme failed in consequence of his own bad conduct, and the lack of faith in it on the part of the Indians generally. Judge Martin suggests that Mr. Calhoun, as secretary of war, seemed to favor the setting apart of a large territory west of Lake Michigan for an Indian republic, perhaps in part from philanthropic reasons, and in part to preclude the ultimate formation of another free State; but the Menomonee grant of 1823 was subsequently curtailed as too large for the needs of the colonized Indians.

Williams was visionary and of a braggadocio character—always concocting schemes; and when one came to naught, he was fertile in inventing others. So when the idea of an Indian republic measurably failed, Red Jacket and other influential Indian chiefs opposing it, and Williams' hopes of becoming a great leader were blasted, he naturally turned his attention to some new project—something that would pander to his love of notoriety. There was little prospect of Louis XVIIth rising up to confront him, so he concluded to play the part of a king, and have a brief strut upon the public stage. He seemed to like the attention that his dauphin claim drew to him; and received the visits of congressmen and others, whom Judge Martin introduced to him at Washington one winter soon after the matter had been made public, with no little pleasure and complacency. Though his honors were empty, he enjoyed them to the full; and with a certain

he applied to her parents, especially her mother, who was a Menomonee woman, and secured the prize, though the daughter was then the betrothed of another, temporarily absent on business. The first intimation Miss Jourdain had of this interesting engagement, her sister informed her that she "need not go to school that day, as she was to be married to Priest Williams in the evening!" And so it proved—a marriage without a courtship—rudely setting aside one betrothal, and a worthy one, to gratify a suddenly conceived whim of Mr. Williams. The whole affair, as much as anything could, sufficiently indicated Williams' thorough acquaintance with Indian matrimonial diplomacy, and how readily and heartlessly he availed himself of it. A high born Frenchman would have scorned such a procedure.

class who had faith in his pretensions, especially in New York city, he received not a few civilities. He seemed to be happy in his dauphinship invention so long as it flattered his vanity and love of notoriety, gave him good dinners, and afforded him opportunities to display his powers of conversation.

He aped greatness,* but accomplished nothing. Had he possessed integrity of character, and discarded his impracticable fancies, he might have proved a blessing to the Indian race. But his life was a comparative failure, if we may judge by the limited fruits of his splendid opportunities.

* Among the papers left by Mr. Williams, as stated by Rev. Dr. Robertson, are notes addressed to him as Louis XVII. in which he is addressed as "Your Most Gracious Majesty;" and he signs papers with the royal cipher, "L. C.;" and says "he wishes to maintain the dignity of his family by manifesting at all times in his conduct that sense of honor which becomes his royal race." He left a royal manifesto, proclaiming his course of action should he be called on to preside over the destinies of the great nation as was formerly done "by my ancestors."

Early Exploration and Settlement of Juneau County

By John T. Kingston

In the fall of 1836, Samuel B. Pilkington and the writer, the former a native of Ireland, while at Helena, on the Wisconsin River, heard of a very extensive forest of pine timber and a splendid water power on the Lemonweir River, about twelve miles from the mouth. As the Winnebago Indians had just sold their lands on the south side of that river to the government, we conceived the idea of making an exploration in that direction to ascertain the truth of those reports, intending, if matters were found as represented to engage in the lumber business; but not then being just ready to make the trip, we concluded to wait until the next year.

Accordingly, in the month of December in the following year, 1837, we packed our Indian pony and started from Racine to explore the valley in question. Our outfit consisted of a Mackinaw blanket and butcher knife, an axe, a box of matches and provisions for a week, besides the necessary camp fixtures, including a small fly tent. Fire arms and ammunition we considered of no particular use, and carried none.

We found but few settlers after crossing Fox River, thirty miles west of Racine, two or three at Spring Prairie, Luke Taylor and one or two others on Turtle Creek, near the present location of Delavan, a Mr. Johnson on the east edge of Rock Prairie, and Mr. Henry F. Janes living in a log house on the east bank of Rock River, near the present site of the city of Janesville. From Rock River to the Four Lakes, now Madison, no signs of the white man; but only a blazed line of trees indicating the road to the future capital of the State.

There being six or eight inches of snow on the ground, we did

not reach Madison until about 9 o'clock on the second morning after leaving Rock River. Here we found a Mr. Peck and family, Col. A. A. Bird and several other men, putting up the frame of a house for a hotel, and also some materials on the ground for the capitol building then in course of erection. From Col. Bird we obtained the proper directions by landmarks to reach Mr. Rowan's trading-post, on the military road, twelve miles from Fort Winnebago, and near the present village of Poynette. On the route from Madison, and ten or twelve miles out, we passed the body of a log house, afterwards completed and occupied by a Mr. Lawrence; but no other marks of improvement were noticed. We reached Rowan's late in the evening, tired, and glad to find a comfortable place for the night for ourselves and the pony.

Following the military road, we reached Fort Winnebago about noon the next day, and found a stopping place at the Indian agency house, owned by the government; but then kept as a tavern by an Italian named Ubaldine, who had an Irish woman for a wife; and during our stay there of a week or more, we found the wife "the better man," at least Ubaldine was willing to acknowledge such to be the fact whenever any little family difficulty occurred, which was not unfrequent.

Visited the fort next day. Met Captain Lowe, then in command, and also Mr. Henry Merrell, since of La Crosse, who kept a sutler's store near the fort. Procured a supply of provisions to last for six or eight days, and leaving the pony with Mr. Ubaldine, we proceeded. Passed the trading-post of Silas Walsworth, situated at the high point of land near the present railroad bridge over the canal; followed the Point Bausse trail about fifteen miles, to a cluster of bark wigwams, then deserted, situated on the land afterwards owned and occupied for several years by Jared Walsworth. Camped here over night. Snow about a foot deep, and weather extremely cold. Tried the experiment of camping in a wigwam, but found it a bad one on account of not being able to keep up a sufficient fire.

The next morning continued on the trail three or four miles, and then struck west across the head of Dell Prairie, and reached the Wisconsin River at the foot of the Big Dells the evening of the

second day after leaving the fort; but finding the ice running in the river, and the crossing impracticable, we continued along the east bank of the stream until we found wood convenient, and a good shelter from the wind, and camped for the night. In the morning we started on our return to the fort, and reached there next day.

We remained with Mr. Ubaldine about a week, and until the river closed sufficiently to cross on the ice, and again started on our explorations. Reaching the wigwams before mentioned, we struck across the south end of Dell Prairie, arriving at the Wisconsin River opposite McEwen Rock.

During our week's stay at the fort, there was quite a heavy fall of snow, and after leaving the Point Bausse trail we found the traveling both slow and difficult.

Before leaving on this second trip, mother Ubaldine handed us a bottle of *medicine* with the remark "*If you get frost bited, try this—it came from Ould Ireland.*" Feeling grateful for the kindly feelings which we knew accompanied the gift, we received it with thankfulness.

The first night, after leaving the fort, we camped about a mile from the east side of Dell Prairie. In the morning we again started, but now without a trail, snow two feet deep, and weather extremely cold. Proceeding a few rods we noticed a singular mound of snow, a short distance out of our direct course. Examined it and found a one-horse sleigh, left a few days before by Robert Bloomer, on his way to the Grand Rapids. In the sleigh we found a couple of smoked hams, some bread, crackers and cheese. Made a note of it as a good place to obtain a supply of provisions on our return, if needed.

Arriving at the edge of the prairie, and facing a cold west wind, we soon felt unmistakable evidence of the frosty atmosphere, so much so that we concluded to halt and try the remedy in the *bottle*, but here we found a difficulty—how to apply it. After mature consultation and reflection, we concluded to try an inward application, and I must say the result was equal to our highest expectations.

And here I will digress so far from the narrative as to say, that although we found repeated occasion to try the *medicine*, and

always with the most satisfactory results, yet I would not recommend it as a remedy for constant use; but only on occasions when you are making your way on foot through snow two feet deep, with a week's provisions in your pack.

The second day we made across the prairie, and camped only two or three miles from the camping place the night before. The third day we crossed the Wisconsin, and camped that night on the higher part of the land at the foot of the Big Dalles. Made three or four miles in distance this day. Weather continued extremely cold. Made our first and only experiment with dry pine wood, to keep up our fire for the night. Midnight, wood all gone, almost perished before morning.

Fourth morning, up very early, made the Lemonweir about noon; but were in considerable doubt, owing to the crooked nature of the channel, and the numerous sloughs, whether we had found the river we were looking for or not. Finally to settle the matter beyond doubt, we concluded to follow the stream down to the mouth, and finding the country to answer the description given us before, we retraced our steps on the ice, and camped that night at Provonsal's trading-post, about two or three miles above the mouth of the river, which we found unoccupied.

The Lemonweir had frozen over after the late heavy fall of snow, and this made the traveling comparatively easy.

The fifth and sixth days we followed up the river on the ice, broke through two or three times, went ashore, built fires and dried our clothes, and then continued on. On the morning of the seventh day we ate our breakfast, consisting of two crackers each, on the present site of the village of New Lisbon; and then, December 29th, 1837, started on our return down the river for Fort Winnebago. Following the otter trails or slides cutting the bends of the river, we found the distance greatly shortened, tightened our belts two or three times a day, dreamed at night of the good time coming, examined our depot of supplies in the sleigh, but found that some "good Indian" had been there before us. Continuing on our journey, we arrived at the fort on the afternoon of December 31st, the third day after turning back, weaker but not much wiser men—

only learning that our extensive pine forest was a myth, and that our anticipated lumber speculation was a failure.

On the west side of the Wisconsin, we saw no signs of the white man, except the abandoned trading posts above mentioned. And no signs of the Indians, except canoes covered up on the bend of the river.

The history of the occupation and settlement of a new country always carries with it an interest according to the nature of the incidents and circumstances attending those events; and more particularly is this interest manifested by those who succeed the early pioneer. The privations and hardships, and even the dangers met with by the early settlers, tend in after years to heighten that interest, and call the mind back to those early times. And it is a matter of regret that the actors in those days and times thought the events of so little importance, that they have been suffered to pass almost entirely from the mind; and we can at the present day, only here and there pick up a circumstance worthy of notice.

In preparing a sketch of the early settlement of the county, dependence, of course, has to be placed upon information derived in the main from the friends and neighbors remaining with us. The writer having been a resident of the county for more than a quarter of a century, and more or less acquainted with the territory embraced within the limits of the county since 1842, can of course state many facts and circumstances from his own knowledge; and, although some of the minor details may not be entirely accurate, yet the names, dates and facts are as nearly correct as the memory of the narrator can place them.

The earliest settler, for even a temporary purpose, within the present limits of the county, of whom I can learn, was Provonsal, the father of Frank Provonsal, killed a few years since by Bill Dandy, an Indian. The elder Provonsal built, and for some years occupied, a trading-post near the bank of the Wisconsin River, about two miles above the Pet-en-Well rock, in the present town of Armenia. Here Frank was born, and lived off and on until he was six or eight years old. At a later date, about the year 1836, his father built and occupied for a short time a trading-post on the Lemonweir, near the present residence of Mr. Peter Arntz.

Frank afterwards lived near Fort Winnebago, then at Provonsal's Eddy, in Columbia County, about four miles below Newport; but during the last ten or twelve years previous to his death, he lived with his family at Pete-en-Well,* at which place he owned and run the ferry across the Wisconsin River. Frank was probably about one-quarter Indian, a man of no education, possessing many of the imperfections of human nature incident to his early life and surroundings; but was a much better man and citizen than many who possessed superior advantages in these respects.

In the winter of 1835-36, Alva Culver, a man by the name of Bernard, and one or two other men from Helena, got out a raft of square timber at the Dells, and along near the mouth of the Lemonweir River, for government buildings at Fort Winnebago. Lumber operations had already commenced at the Whitney Rapids, higher up the river, in the present county of Wood.

In the year 1835, the steamboat "Frontier," Captain D. S. Harris, made a trip up the Wisconsin as high as the Dells, but did not attempt to pass through. Steamboats continued to make occasional trips as high as the Dells for some years afterwards. In 1850, the "Enterprise," Capt. Gilbert, reached the Dells, tied up in the eddy over night, and the next morning continued on through the Dells, and as high up the river as Point Bausse. The same boat afterwards made two or three trips to the same point.

For several years, before the railroad reached Kilbourn City, John B. Du Bay kept a keel-boat on the river a considerable portion of the time, carrying freight from Portage City to Point Bausse. Owing, however, to the swiftness of the current in the Dells in high water, and the numerous sand-bars in the river above and below that point, in low water, the navigation of the Wisconsin above Portage was always both uncertain and expensive, and the charges for freight, seventy-five cents per hundred, alone justified the expense of navigation.

The first permanent settlement in the county was made in the month of October or November in the year 1838. At the time

* Pete-en-Well is near Necedah, and not Neenah, as erroneously printed on page 365, vol. vii, of *Wis. Hist. Collections*.

mentioned, Amasa Wilson, C. B. Smith, and R. V. Allen made a location in company, and built a shanty at the Dells Eddy, for the purpose of getting out square timber, for the lower river market. The shanty stood on the rise of ground at the foot of the Dells, where the house of Mr. Allen now stands, and where he has continued to live since the date of his first settlement. Mr. Allen can, therefore, justly claim the honor of being the first and oldest permanent resident in Juneau County.

In the spring following, the timber got out was rafted, and run out of the river, and sold at Galena. The next winter the same parties again worked in company in getting out timber at the same place.

These two winters' operations, together with that of Mr. Culver, about exhausted the small amount of pine timber growing in that part of the county.

Mr. Allen continuing to make his home at the Dells Eddy, turned his attention to piloting rafts through the Dells in high stages of water, and his house remained for several years the only sign of civilization between Point Bausse and Fort Winnebago (Portage City), except Grignon's trading-post, a distance of seventy-five miles by the river, and became a very prominent stopping place for the raftsmen on their annual trips down the river.

As previously mentioned, lumber operations had commenced on the Wisconsin River, above the Dells, before the settlement there by Mr. Allen. The navigation of the river with rafts of lumber, in seasons of low water, was extremely difficult and tedious, at times requiring several months to make the trip.

During the spring freshet of 1840, a Mr. Barnes left Point Bausse with a fleet of lumber for the Mississippi market. About the first of June following, he reached the foot of the Dells; and from the length of time consumed in reaching this point, he became satisfied that the greater part of the season would be required in making the trip to the mouth of the river. At this time, owing to the limited number of settlers along the river, it was very difficult, if not in fact impossible, to procure the necessary supply of provisions for a crew on a trip of any considerable length; and for the purpose of supplying, in part, any deficiency that might

arise in that respect, he planted a patch of potatoes near the Dells Eddy. Starting again with his rafts on the downward trip, he met with the same delay below the Dells that he had above; and in consequence of the continued low stage of the water in the river, he did not reach Sauk Prairie, a distance of less than sixty miles from the Dells by the river, until late in the month of August. His provisions becoming about exhausted, he concluded to draw on his potato patch for supplies, and taking his crew, he accordingly started across the country, on the west side of the river, for the Dells. Finding a fine crop of potatoes, he loaded his men, and returned again to his rafts. Continuing on down the river with his rafts, he reached St. Louis late in the month of October.

After disposing of their timber in the spring of 1840, Messrs. Smith and Wilson, leaving Mr. Allen in possession of the shanty and claim previously mentioned, at the foot of the Dells, made a claim in Sauk County, about two miles below the present village of Newport. But remaining on the Sauk County claim only a couple of years, they returned again to the present county of Juneau, in the fall of 1842; logged on the Lemonweir River the following winter, and in the spring of 1843 drove the logs down the river, and boomed them at the site of the present village of New Lisbon. Here they made a permanent location, and commenced the erection of a sawmill, and other necessary improvements for the lumber business. The mill was completed and put in operation the same season.

In the spring of 1846, J. H. Findlay and Wm. Armstrong came up from Portage City, and contracted to run Messrs. Smith and Wilson's mill by the thousand; but they afterwards bought the property, agreeing to make certain annual payments for the logs, mill and other improvements; but failing to meet the payments as they became due, the mill and other property again reverted to the original proprietors. Mr. Wilson subsequently became sole owner of the property by purchase, and is one of the original proprietors of the village of New Lisbon, where he still resides.

Mr. Smith removed to Portage City in the Fall of 1846, or the spring of '47, where he became a prominent merchant, and

continued to live there up to the time of his death, which occurred in 1855. Mr. Armstrong also returned to the same place, where he still resides. Mr. Findlay subsequently settled on a claim near the mill, and remained in that neighborhood until the year 1851 or '52, when he removed to the Black River country, and settled in the present county of Clark.

In 1846, or 1847, Andrew Dunn, then living in Portage City, made a location on the Lemonweir River, in the present town of Clearfield, and commenced the erection of a sawmill and other necessary improvements, preparatory to engaging in the lumber business. Men were employed to build the mill, and after it was completed they tried to hold it, and claim it in their own right. But this course not suiting the views of Mr. Dunn, he came up from Portage City with a crew of men, and took forcible possession of the premises. Mr. Dunn continuing to live in Portage City with his family, employed D. L. Ward and Harris Searles to run his mill on the Lemonweir, who continued to live there until 1850, when they both located and built mills on the Yellow River, in the present county of Wood. Ward afterwards removed to Kansas, and Searles removed to Weston's Rapids on Black River, and subsequently to Augusta, in the county of Eau Claire, where he recently died.

Andrew Scott and Thomas Buckley came into the Lemonweir valley in the fall of 1847, logged for Mr. Dunn three or four years, then bought the mill, and run it for several years on their own account. Mr. Scott now lives in the town of New Lisbon, and Mr. Buckley in the town of Clearfield.

The first settlement in the latter town, for other than lumber purposes, was made in the year 1854. John Sanford, recently deceased, was one of the oldest settlers in the town.

Andrew Dunn was of Irish nativity, came to America when quite young, and settled near Dodgeville in the county of Iowa, when Wisconsin was yet under the jurisdiction of Michigan. He was engaged in the mining business for some time, and afterwards became interested in lumber operations on Mill Creek, in the present county of Portage, sold out his interest there, settled his family at Portage City, and engaged in the lumber busi-

ness on the Lemonweir, as before stated. Subsequently bought an interest with Mr. Wilson in the mill and water power at New Lisbon, removed his family to that place, and became prominently identified with the county, both in business and politics. Mr. Dunn in energy, both in business and political matters, was very much above the average of men; and at the time of his death, which occurred a few years since, was widely known through the State, and as widely respected.

After the settlement within the present limits of the town of Lisbon, by Messrs. Smith and Wilson, in the years 1842 and 1843, no further improvements appear to have been made in the town until the year 1850, although other settlers made locations within a few miles, but in territory now embraced within other towns. In this year George Hinton, Peter Webster, and W. J. Webster made locations in the town, and were the first settlers there who came for other than the lumber business. The next year, 1851, Erastus Emmons made a location within the present limits of the village. In 1852, S. D. McComber, H. M. McComber, M. C. Kenyon, J. A. Chase, G. Herniman and W. Herniman also located in the town, and but a short distance outside the present corporate limits of the village; and from this time the Lemonweir valley began to attract considerable attention for agricultural purposes, particularly that portion of the valley lying south and west of the river.

Like the pioneers in all new countries these early settlers had to depend mainly for their supply of provisions, &c., on the older settled portions of the State, and were happy and content with the bare necessities of life. Roads had to be constructed, schools and churches had to be organized; but it is still a question whether they did not, under all these hardships, enjoy themselves fully as well as they now do with all the later evidences of civilization surrounding them.

Up to this time, neither law offices nor lawyers had made their appearance in the valley; and consequently when one neighbor had any difficulty with another, the matter was settled in an amicable way by the friendly interposition of others. But the

star of empire was rolling its way westward, and with it came the evils as well as the blessings of civilization.

Civil government had to be established, and accordingly the following order was passed April 13th, 1853, by the board of supervisors of the County of Adams, of which County the territory embraced within the present limits of Juneau County then formed a part: "That all of townships sixteen and seventeen, and the north half of township fifteen, ranges two and three, and all that part of township fifteen, range four, lying north of the south line of section eighteen, and west and east of the Lemon-weir River, shall constitute an organized town under the name of New Lisbon." Under this organization a town meeting was held the same month at the house of J. H. Findlay, and A. P. Ayers elected chairman. Justices of the peace, constables and other town officers were also chosen, and the whole routine of civil law and government was put in operation.

In the same year, a post-office was established about a mile south of the present village. Ephraim Kingsbury was appointed postmaster, and the post-office was called Mill Haven. Weekly communication was now opened with the older settled portions of the State, and as a consequence politicians, patent right peddlers and other patriotic and useful citizens soon put in their appearance. In this year, a Baptist church and Sabbath school were organized, Rev. Mr. Knapp, pastor. A short time subsequently, a public school was established in the town with Geo. P. Kenyon as teacher. From this time forward the town settled up quite rapidly. Roads were constructed in all directions through the town. Schools were organized, and everywhere could be seen the evidences of industry and intelligence.

In 1855, the original village of New Lisbon was laid out, and platted by Amasa Wilson. Subsequently additions to the village were laid out. One of the most important, and upon which a considerable portion of the business part of the place is now located, is the addition platted by J. A. Chase, previously mentioned as one of the early settlers in the town. During this year also, Wm. McDava, Dr. Little, L. Van Slyke, W. P. Carr, W. B. Surdam, John Boyler, and several others settled in the village.

In the following year, 1856, the post-office was removed to the village, but retained for some time afterwards the original name of Mill Haven. L. Van Slyke was the postmaster after the removal. In the same year, the *New Lisbon Republican* newspaper, was established, R. B. Rice, editor. This paper was continued subsequently under different editors, Mr. Bright and Mr. Wells, both now dead, until it finally took the name of the *Juneau County Argus*, M. F. Carney, publisher, which it yet retains. During 1856, a Methodist church and Sunday school were organized in the village, Rev. John Bean, pastor. This was the first church organization in the place. Others, however, soon followed. The succeeding year, 1857, a district school was organized in the village, H. Tyler, teacher.

The village of New Lisbon was incorporated by act of the legislature, in the winter of 1869 and '70. The first election under the charter was held in the spring of the latter year, at which election E. C. Sage was elected president of the village.

Of the early settlers mentioned, Erastus Emmons died some years since. The present residence of W. J. Webster, A. P. Ayres, Rev. Mr. Knapp, Rev. John Bean, and H. Tyler is not known to the writer. Peter Webster now lives near the village of Sparta; Ephraim Kingsbury, in Kansas; L. Van Slyke, at Hastings, Minnesota; W. P. Carr, in Dakota; W. B. Surdam, in Monroe County; R. B. Rice is connected with a paper at Lancaster, in this State. All the others mentioned are prominent in the community, and still living in the village of New Lisbon or in that vicinity.

As heretofore stated, Andrew Dunn built a sawmill in the present town of Clearfield, in the year 1846 or '47—the latter year is probably the correct date. It was situated on the Lemonweir River, about four miles above the village of New Lisbon. The next year Hugh McFarlane, of Portage City, went into company with Mr. Dunn in the lumber business on the Lemonweir, and a second mill, called the shore mill, was built on the same dam with the former. Both these mills were put in charge of Messrs. Searles and Ward, previously mentioned, and operated by them for the owners for two or three years, and were then leased

to Messrs. Scott and Buckley, who subsequently purchased the mills and other improvements, and continued the manufacturing of lumber for some years, and until the pine became scarce on the stream, or was purchased by other parties owning mills lower down on the river. Those mills have since been suffered to stand idle; and there are now but few signs of either mill or other improvements on the premises, except a small portion of the dam on the north bank of the river.

The territory comprising the town of Clearfield was originally a part of the town of New Lisbon, since changed to Lisbon.

The town of Fountain was also a part of the original town of New Lisbon, but was subsequently organized into a new town under the name of Fountain, by order of the board of supervisors of Adams County, November 16th, 1855. This town, at the date of its organization, was composed of townships sixteen and seventeen, range two east. The first settlement made in Fountain was by Abijah Ayres, in the year 1844. He subsequently sold the claim to Joel Bogart, who settled in the town in the month of May, 1848. Mr. Bogart still lives in the town, and now owns the land covered by the Ayres claim.

R. J. Clark followed next, and settled in Fountain the following year, 1849, and built the house afterwards known as "Clark's Tavern." He still lives in the town. John Parks made a settlement in Fountain the same year. But few settlements were afterwards made in the town until the years 1852 and '53, when emigration to the Lemonweir valley greatly increased. Of this emigration, it is fair to infer that Fountain received its full share, from the fact that the town was divided, by order of the county board, and the town of Orange organized, to take effect April 1, 1857. The town of Orange is comprised of township seventeen, range two, east.

Town of Wonewoe. As usual in this section of the State, the lumbermen were the pioneers of civilization in this town. As early as the winter of 1842-43, the loggers had made their explorations up the Baraboo as far as the present village of Wonewoe; but no permanent settlement was made in the town until 1850. In the month of September of this year, Ross Phillips

and John Grant made claims on the middle branch of the Baraboo, on what is now known as Millard's Prairie. The former located his family on his claim in the month of October following; but Mr. Grant's family did not reach their future home until the month of March, 1851. This was the first settlement on the Baraboo, above what was then known as Babb's Prairie, near the present village of Reedsburg. A settlement had, however, been made on the Little Baraboo, at the present village of Iron-ton.

Edward and George Willard had been engaged in logging on the Baraboo, in the south part of the town, for several years previous to this date; but no permanent settlement was made in the town until the fall of 1851 or spring of '52. Other settlers soon followed, and within a short time all the desirable locations in the valley were occupied.

As usual, the settlers had to suffer all the privations and hardships incident to the settlement of a new country. The only road was along the valley of the Baraboo River, and as this was only intended for the winter's use by the loggers, it was found, at other seasons of the year, nearly impassable. They had neither schools, churches, nor mails; and to add to their difficulties, the crop put in by the settlers in the spring of '51, proved an entire failure. But still they were not discouraged. The soil was good, every valley had in it a brook of pure and sparkling water. All the elements of natural wealth existed in the country, and time alone was required for its development. Game was plenty in the surrounding hills, and wild honey could be procured in almost any desired quantity. As an instance of the abundance of this latter article, it may not be out of place to state, that Zach. Sheldon came up from Portage City in the fall of 1851, and at the end of a four weeks' bee hunt, took home eight barrels of strained honey.

The year 1852 was a year of abundance to the settler. Every thing planted in the ground yielded a bountiful harvest. The time of scarcity and want had passed, and all things looked bright and hopeful for the future.

Ross Phillips was from Michigan, and at the time of his settlement was forty years old. John Grant is a native of England, first settled in the State of New York, and removed thence to

Wisconsin, and at the date of his settlement in this county, was forty-one years of age. Both had large families. None of the former family are now here. Nearly all of Mr. Grant's family still live in the county, and near their early home. The Willards were from Vermont. The town of Wonewoc was organized by order of the county board of Adams County, November 13th, 1856.

Town of Plymouth. In the month of March, 1851, Thomas Brown and Thomas Riddle made the first claim and settlement in the present town of Plymouth. About two months later, D. M. Fowler, R. A. Fowler, John H. Fowler, and Daniel Fowler made claims, and settled in the same neighborhood, and on what has since been known as Fowler's Prairie. The land was surveyed by the government the same year. In the winter of 1851 and '52, there were eight families living in this settlement. A district school was organized the following year, 1852, Miss Emily Fowler, teacher. There has been a school in this district two terms each year from the date of the organization of the district up to the present time.

In the year 1852, a public road was laid out from Fowler's Corners to the Stewart settlement, in the present town of Lindina. The only outlet by road previous to this date, was down the valley of the Baraboo. From this time forward, the town settled up more rapidly. November 16th, 1854, the town of Plymouth was established, by order of the board of supervisors of Adams County; and soon after organized, by the election of all the necessary town officers.

In 1856, J. M. Brintnall built a sawmill on the Baraboo, at the east end of the prairie; and the year following, 1857, a mail route and post-office were established, R. A. Fowler postmaster. Weekly communication was now opened with the rest of the world. Other roads were laid out and constructed to the surrounding settlements, and all things indicated prosperity and plenty. At length another great want of the settlers was accomplished in the year 1860—Messrs. James and John Hutchinson building a grist-mill in the town, and thus laid the nucleus around which has since sprung up the present flourishing village of Elroy.

In the winter of 1838-39, John De La Ronde and Judge Silas Walsworth, both at that time engaged in trading with the Indians, and living at or near Fort Winnebago, hired a small crew of men, and proceeded to get out square timber on the Lemonweir River, a few miles above its mouth. After the timber was disposed of the ensuing spring, La Ronde returned to the Lemonweir, and built a trading-post on the site of the present village of Mauston. This was the first settlement or improvement made by the white man at that point, even for a temporary purpose. At that time, La Ronde had in his employ a young Canadian, by the name of Norbert St. Germaine, who was left in charge of the trading-post, when completed, during the remainder of that season, and the greater part of the next.

This was the only settlement made at the point mentioned until the year 1842. In the summer of this year, J. B. McNeil, and two men named Elmore and McAlister, after making an exploration of the river, and finding sufficient pine timber on the stream to justify it, entered into a co-partnership to carry on the lumber business. Accordingly, procuring the necessary crew of men, and a supply of provisions, &c., they commenced the erection of a dam and mill, which were completed; and the mill put in operation early the ensuing season. After running the mill and lumber business in company for three years, McNeil and McAlister sold out their interest in the claim and improvements to Joseph Hewlett. The company now consisted of Hewlett and Elmore; but the latter dying two or three years subsequent to the purchase by Hewlett, and not having any relations in the country, Mr. Hewlett became sole owner of the property, and continued in the business in his own name until the time of his death, which occurred in the year 1848, or 1849.

During the time Hewlett was operating the mill, he became connected in the lumber business with Gen. M. M. Maughs, of Galena, Ill., and at the time of Hewlett's death, Gen. Maughs came into full possession of the mill property and other improvements, and subsequently became the proprietor of the original village of Mauston—the village taking the name of the proprietor.

After taking possession of the mill and premises, Gen. Maughs

left his brother, Nicholas Maughs, in charge, who carried on the business for his brother until the year 1850 or 1851, at which time the general moved up from Galena with his family, and took personal charge of the business, until the date of his death, February 18, 1863. Gen. Maughs was a man widely known, and was universally respected for his worth and integrity. In his death our county lost one of its earliest and best citizens.

Mr. Hewlett was one of the earliest pioneers in the Upper Mississippi country. Making his home within the limits of the present State of Wisconsin in the year 1819, he saw our territory in the wild beauty of nature, and lived to see Wisconsin the peer of many of her sister states. He was a man of a very quiet and unassuming disposition; indifferent, apparently, to exposure and danger; but possessing in a high degree that perseverance and resolution so common to the early western pioneers.

McNeil was one of those jovial men, eminently social in his disposition and habits, which led him into a course of life that in after years he was unable to control. After selling out his interest in the mill on the Lemonweir to Mr. Hewlett, he floated around from place to place, on the Upper Wisconsin and its tributaries, without any fixed location or apparent idea of a permanent business; and at the breaking out of the rebellion, he enlisted in the Union army, and died in one of the Southern prisons.

In the fall of 1836, St. Germaine, then in his sixteenth year, hired out in Canada as a packer to the American Fur Company; made his way to the then Territory of Wisconsin, by the way of Lake Superior; was sent South the same fall with a party of traders, and passed the ensuing winter on the east fork of Black River, in the present county of Clark. In the fall of 1837, he left the Fur Company, and was engaged the following winter by Messrs. Perry and Veeder, on Mill Creek, in the present county of Portage. After working for Messrs. La Ronde and Walsworth, as before stated, he again went to work for the fur company; remained with them for several years, first as packer, and afterwards as a trader with the Indians. Leaving their employ, he made his home for some time at Fort Winnebago and Portage City, and finally, in 1851, located at Necedah, in this county, where he

still continues to live. St. Germaine is a practical river-man; and during the time he has lived at Necedah, has turned his attention, during the rafting season, to running lumber on the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers.

Until the incorporation of Mauston, the village was included within the limits of the town of Lindina. The village was surveyed and platted July 16, 1854; and incorporated in April, 1860. John C. Webster, living at present in the town of Lemonweir, was an early settler in Mauston. Also William Stewart, still living three or four miles out of the village. And Martin Gray was another early settler; but the date of the settlement of these men, the writer has been unable to ascertain. Mr. Gray died several years since; and was, at the time of his death, a very prominent man in business and politics. He was also proprietor of a very important addition to the village of Mauston.

At the annual meeting of the board of supervisors of Adams County, November 14, 1854, the town of Lindina was represented on the board; but no date of the establishment or organization of the town appears on the records. But the boundaries of the town are described in the journal of proceedings, on the 16th, during the same session.

The first number of the *Mauston Star*, D. McBride, editor, was issued June 10, 1857. After publishing the paper one year, Mr. McBride sold out his interest to Messrs. B. E. Stevens and John Turner. After publishing the paper another year in company, Stevens sold out his interest to Mr. Turner, who has ever since continued the paper, and is now its sole proprietor. Mr. McBride subsequently removed to Sparta, in Monroe County, where he still remains, and commenced the publication of the *Sparta Herald*, which he still continues.

The original town of Lemonweir included within its boundaries, all the south part of Juneau County, and was one of only two towns on the west side of the Wisconsin, represented in the first meeting of the county board of supervisors of Adams County, April 12, 1853—the Lemonweir River running in a southeasterly direction nearly through the center of the town.

The first settlement within the limits of the present town of

Lemonweir was made by John Gregory, August 8, 1849. It was made on Spring Creek, in the west part of the town. Later in the same year, Paul Mooney made a location in the southeast part of the town. In the following year, 1850, John McNown, John Smith, Wm. McCallum, E. G. Shute, Wm. Crane, and Charles Minchian made settlements in the town; and several others also made claims the same year. In the latter part of that year, the town began to settle up more rapidly; and within three years from that time, nearly all the best localities were taken up.

John Gregory is a native of England; Mooney of Ireland; McCallum of Pennsylvania; Crane of Canada; and Shute of Massachusetts. The latter made his first settlement in Wisconsin in 1842. John McNown was a native of the Isle of Man; emigrated first to Canada, and afterwards to Wisconsin. He continued to live in the town of Lemonweir, on the land covered by his original claim, until the breaking out of the late rebellion, when he enlisted in the 16th Reg. Wis. Vol. Infantry, and with many other good and noble men, laid down his life for his adopted country. He was killed at the battle of Shiloh. His family still live on the old farm.

John Smith came to Lemonweir valley in the year 1845, when quite a young man; and was engaged at work in the lumber business for several years previous to his settlement in the town of Lemonweir. All the persons named, with the single exception mentioned, continue to live on the land covered by their original claims.

Town of Lyndon. After the settlement of R. V. Allen, at the foot of the Dells, in the fall of 1838, as previously mentioned, Charles Clemence appears to have been the next settler, in Lyndon, locating in the town in 1850. After Clemence, came Ephraim Kingsbury, about the year 1852. He, however sold out the following year to Lyman Dickens, and made a new location and settlement in the town of New Lisbon. No further settlement appears to have been made in this town, until the year 1854. In that year, Charles Leach, Cornelius Collins, and David Truell made locations. Other settlers soon followed; and within a short time, the comfortable farm house could be here and there met with, surrounded by all the evidences of peace and plenty.

Some of these early settlers afterwards became quite prominent in the political and business affairs of the county. Mr. Leach served one term as county treasurer, subsequently removed to the village of New Lisbon, and engaged in the mercantile business; and died at that place a few years since, universally respected in the county for his business qualities and integrity. Mr. Truell was elected register of deeds—holding the office for two years; in 1877 he served a term in the legislature, and still continues to live on his farm in the town of Lyndon.

Charles Clemence appears to have been of a roving, restless disposition, living mostly by hunting and trapping. At the breaking out of the rebellion, he enlisted in the Union army, and served throughout the war as a sharp-shooter, in which he is reported to have done very efficient service. At the close of the war, he returned to his old home in Juneau County; but finding the occupation of his choice rather restricted in this part of the State, he left for the wilds of the Lake Superior country, and again made his home on the extreme borders of civilization.

The town of Lyndon was set off from the town of Kildare, and organized at the annual meeting of the board of supervisors of Juneau County, November, 1857.

In the proceedings of the board of supervisors of Adams County, at the annual meeting held at Quincy, November 16th, 1853, the following order was passed: "That all of that part of township fifteen, range five, east, south from a line running east to the Wisconsin River, from the southwest corner of section nineteen, township sixteen, range four, east, shall constitute the town of Almira. The first meeting in said town, to be held at the house of Jacob Rogers."

But as this town is not again mentioned in any of the subsequent proceedings of the county board, it is but reasonable to infer, that the town of Almira was never fully organized by the election of town officers. And in fact this town could not well be organized, with the boundaries so indefinitely described.

The town of Waucedah,* was organized at the session dated November 16, 1854; but after the division of Adams County,

* Waucedah means large pine, or what the lumbermen term "pumpkin pine."

and the organization of Juneau, this town organization seems to have been abolished, and the territory composing it divided between the present towns of Marion and Kildare.

The town of Marion, lying north and east of the town of Lemonweir, was settled first by John Mason, in the year 1851. This settlement was made on the Lemonweir Prairie. About the same time, a Mr. Brandebury made his home with Mason, and took up a claim in the near vicinity; but erected no substantial improvements. Dow Clute made a location in the town in the year 1852 or '53; and John and Jacob Tolls followed, about the year 1854. No date of the organization of the town has been obtained.

Town of Kildare. Henry Carpenter, living at Portage City, and a man by the name of Randall, were engaged in the logging and lumber business on the Lemonweir; and, in the year 1849, commenced the erection of a sawmill on that stream, in the present town of Kildare. The mill was completed early in the following year; but after running it one season, they sold out their claim and mill to Jacob Rogers, who continued to operate the mill for some years afterward. Pine timber becoming scarce on the river, the lumber business at that point was subsequently abandoned.

Peter Arntz made a location in the town, and built a steam sawmill on the Lemonweir, two or three miles from the mouth, in the year 1852. He also abandoned the lumber business after a few years. A year or two previous to the settlement of Mr. Arntz, Frank Webster and George Walker made a location in this town, on the Wisconsin River, at the foot of the Big Dells.

Jacob Rogers at one time took quite an active part in the politics of the county, and was elected county treasurer for one term. He subsequently removed to the village of New Lisbon; but some years since left the State, and now lives in Iowa, a few miles west of Dubuque. Mr. Arntz has also been quite a prominent man in county affairs, and has several times been elected to represent his town in the county board.

In 1849, William Green emigrated to Wisconsin, and made his home during the season with a Mr. Mackay, in the town of Del-

Iona, near the north line of Sauk County. During that season, he made a temporary location in the town of Seven Mile Creek, in this county. No permanent settlement, however, was made in this town, until a couple of years subsequently. In 1851, the only settlers in the town, as now organized, were William Taylor, Chauncey B. Strong, David Henry, Adam Stultz and Alonzo Andrews. Mr. Taylor made his settlement in this year; but it is not certain whether any of the others preceded him.

At the session of the legislature of 1849, all of township fifteen, and the south half of township fourteen, extending from the west line of the present county of Juneau, east to the Wisconsin River, were attached to the County of Sauk, and so remained until the session of 1853. This nine mile strip in width north and south, included nearly all the settlements, at that time, in the Lemonweir valley.

The first election of officers in that district of country, was held at Delton, Sauk County, in 1851; when Chauncey B. Strong was elected justice of the peace—and was the first justice serving in that valley, and probably in what was afterwards Juneau County. At this period, the whole of the district of country mentioned, was organized into a single town—Lemonweir.

During the succeeding year or two, the country settled up quite rapidly. Among the earliest settlers after 1851, were L. E. Saxton, C. W. Fosbinder, James Heavey, a Mr. McEntee, Patrick Smith, Robert Doyle, Patrick Moylan, John Ferguson, David Hawes, M. Mulloney, a Mr. Looney, Thomas Hyde, John and Michael Powers, a Mr. Rogers, James Welch, and Nicholas Brown. The most of the locations mentioned are now included within the boundaries of the present town of Seven Mile Creek; the remainder within the towns of Lyndon and Summit, since organized.

The next election held within the district of country mentioned, was in the Stewart settlement, in the present town of Lindina. At this election, Fosbinder and Heavey were chosen members of the town board; but who the other was is not remembered. Mr. Taylor at the same time was elected town clerk and assessor. His assessment district at this period included the present

towns of Kildare, Summit, Lemonweir, Seven Mile Creek, and a part of Lindina.

The only main road leading to or from this district of country, was the one cut out by the early loggers on the Lemonweir. This road crossed the Wisconsin at Newport, and followed along the valleys, avoiding as much as possible the swamps and other natural obstructions, without any particular reference to shortening the distance. But as the settlements increased, and the people became more able, this inconvenience was remedied. Good roads, on the most direct routes to the different settlements, were opened up. A State road was also laid out and opened, leading west through the county, by way of the villages of Mauston and New Lisbon, and was continued on, by other settlements and counties, to the Mississippi River. The old "Troy coach" soon made its appearance on this road, and continued its regular trips until superceded by the Milwaukee and La Crosse road, in 1857.

Nor was it long before the settlers began to turn their attention to the organization of churches and schools, in different parts of the town. The first schoolhouse in Seven Mile Creek was built near the house of Joseph Beadle, an early settler in the town. The next was built near the house of Mr. Taylor—Miss Catherine Taylor, teacher. A church was the next thing needed. Accordingly Taylor, Heavey, Green, McGowan, and Smith commenced building a log church. But when it was completed, they had no priest nearer than Sauk City, a distance of about forty miles. Without any great difficulty, arrangements were made with Father Gardner, a German priest there, to make them occasional visits. The next priest was Father Stepley, and afterwards Father O'Neil Montague.

Mulloney and Looney both met with accidental deaths some years ago. Nearly all the other settlers mentioned are still living on or near their first locations. Several of them have taken active parts in the affairs of the county. Messrs. Taylor, Green, and Michael Powers, have several times represented their town on the county board. Mr. Hyde has filled the office of sheriff and county treasurer for several terms; and Mr. Fosbinder has held the office of clerk of the circuit court for two or three terms.

The town of Seven Mile Creek was organized by the board of supervisors of Adams County, November 16, 1855.

The town of Summit, as appears from the records of Adams County, was organized on the 15th day of November, 1855; the first town meeting to be held at the house of Alexander Noble. The boundaries of the new town included the homes of Saxton, Fosbinder, and others of the above mentioned settlers; also several who had come in about the same time, and before the date of organization. Elias Kingsley, C. Blish, and Alexander Noble, came in 1852 or '53; J. B. Potter and H. F. Potter and Philo Sterling, in 1854; Peter Sterling, in 1855; and H. D. and E. T. Boyington, in 1856.

At the first town meeting after the organization, Saxton was elected chairman of the town board, and J. B. Potter, clerk. At the date of the organization, there were no churches nor organized school districts in the town. The Potter district, afterwards known as District No. 3, was the first organized, in the year 1855—Miss Sterling, daughter of Peter Sterling—now Mrs. Charles Huff, of Wonewoc—teacher. And the old settlers still delight in speaking of it as a good school, if not the best, ever taught in the district, although the wages paid were only one dollar a week, she boarding herself.

Roads were laid out and opened, putting this town in communication with Mauston and Reedsburg, in the year 1854.

The first settlement was made in the town of Germantown in the year 1848, for T. Weston & Co., by two young men in their employ, by the name of Uriah Hill and Usal V. Jeffreys. The shanties and other improvements were situated on the present site of the village of Germantown. In the spring of 1851, Weston & Co. sold all that part of their claim lying south of the house now owned and occupied by Wm. Hughes, to Walter B. Gage and Jacob Gundlach, but recently from the lead mines in the south part of the State. The land was purchased from the government in the fall of 1852; and a year or two subsequently Messrs. Gage and Gundlach laid out and platted the village of German-town. Philip Runkle located in the same year, 1852; and his brothers, Frederick and Henry Runkle, followed soon after.

William Hughes and Stephen Davenport were early settlers in the town. A considerable number of Germans, besides the Runkles, also located in and near the village, both before and after it was laid out. The town was organized March 22d, 1855.

In the month of March of the following year, 1856, John Werner, Jr., removed from Necedah, and made a location at the present village of Werner, in Germantown, and subsequently became the original proprietor of the village. The next year Wm. Williams and D. R. W. Williams left the place above, where they owned mills on the Yellow River, in the present county of Wood, bought an interest from Mr. Werner, and erected a sawmill at that place. This mill and the improvements connected with it, have several times changed hands, first to D. R. Williams, the uncle of William and D. R. W. Williams, next to E. D. Wightman & Co., and are now owned and occupied by McQueen, Davis & Co.

In the fall of 1858, and spring of '59, Werner built a sawmill a short distance below the village of Werner on the Yellow River; and, in the fall of 1860, sold out his interest in it to Messrs. Reed and Arnold, by the latter of whom it is now owned and operated. In October of the same year, Werner sold out his interest in the village to E. D. Wightman & Co., and removed to Prairie du Sac, where he still lives. But few of the early settlers now live in the town, several having died, while others have left that vicinity and settled in different parts of the country, and in other states.

Jacob Gundlach still remains in the town, but some two or three miles from the village. He is now quite aged, and has lived in Wisconsin about forty years. He was among the first, if not the first, native German settler in the Territory of Wisconsin, and has always been known as a man of strict honesty and integrity, and hence may have originated the old saying in this country, "*as honest as a Dutchman.*"*

In the spring of 1851, Michael Banfield and Frank Callen, in company, made the first settlement in the town of Armenia. Their location was made near Cranberry Creek, on the road leading from Necedah up the Yellow River. Their object was to keep

* Since the above was written, Mr. Gundlach has passed away.

tavern. Neither of them was married, and consequently they had to be both landlord and cook. This, together with a kind of reckless way of doing business, soon caused the balance to show on the wrong side, and consequently they were unable to continue the business, and soon sold out to Dr. Bronson. The Doctor undertook to add music to the other attractions of his house to win customers; but unfortunately found that although the soft strains of the fiddle might "soothe the savage breast," the lumbermen traveling the road required more substantial food; and he, too, was compelled to seek some other branch of business.

In the summer of 1852, Nathaniel Crosby took possession of the premises, and kept the house until the spring of 1854, when he sold out to Miles Dustan, who continued to keep the house for some years; but he finally sold out and removed to Baraboo, at which place he died some years since. James Johnson, a native of Norway, settled in the town in 1853; Jesse D. Searles and Joseph Hewett came in 1855; and E. C. Bullis and A. P. Richer the following year. From this date the town settled up more rapidly. But from the nature of the soil, and poor encouragement for farming, the population has considerably decreased within the past few years.

In the fall of 1843, Esq. Rice and the writer, both at that time living near the Grand Rapids, arranged to go on a hunting and exploring expedition down the Wisconsin River. The principal object of the expedition was to obtain a better knowledge of the country on either side of the stream, in the present counties of Adams and Juneau, of which little was known, except such limited observation as the raftsmen were able to make on their annual trips down the river. Procuring, accordingly, a skiff and the necessary camp equipage, provisions for a few days, and a supply of ammunition, they left the rapids, and started down stream.

Not having to depend upon packing their provisions, etc., they laid in a more liberal supply than they otherwise would, which enabled them to spend all the time required in making a tolerably thorough examination of the country bordering on the river.

Usually landing about the middle of the afternoon in some tributary or bayou of the river, they would secure their provisions:

by placing them in a tree, out of reach of any wild animals, and then hunt around in that vicinity until near sundown, when they would return, and camp for the night. The following morning the exploration would be continued, usually on the opposite side of the river, until eight or nine o'clock, when they would again embark and proceed down stream.

Continuing on in this way, in some six or eight days they reached the mouth of the Yellow River, about sixty miles below the rapids, having passed on the route the Grignon trading-post, six miles below Point Bausse, the only house or sign of civilized improvement then existing on the river between this point and the foot of the Dells.

Noticing the dark color of the water in Yellow River,* they were satisfied that it was caused by the existence of a large body of pine timber somewhere on the river above; but after traveling up the stream some four or five miles without finding any pine of consequence, they returned to their camping place. Proceeding down the Wisconsin, they reached the foot of the Dells, and leaving the skiff with Mr. Allen, returned home by land.

Game was found in abundance along the river below Point Bausse, which added materially to their supply of provisions; fresh signs of beavers were also seen below the mouth of the Yellow River, on the east side of the Wisconsin. Nothing particularly attractive, however, was noticed on the trip except indications of pine before mentioned.

In the winter of 1844 and '45, Thomas Weston and John Werner, Jr., both at that time living at the Grand Rapids, concluded, from reports which came to their knowledge, that quite an extensive body of pine timber existed on the Yellow River waters a few miles to the west, and that an exploration of the country in that direction would pay. They accordingly procured the services of Jo. Gill, a Canadian, as guide, and started west, striking the Yellow River about eight miles above the present village of Dexterville, in Wood County. Turning south, they

* This is but the translation of the Winnebago word Necedah—yellow; the beautiful Indian name being perpetuated in the enterprising village located and fostered by Messrs. Weston & Co. The Chippewa name for Yellow River is Kanneewinne, or Buck Horn.

continued along down the river ten or twelve miles to near the north line of Juneau County, then started east to the Wisconsin River on their return home. They reported the discovery of very large bodies of pine, and of an excellent quality. But as the country on the Yellow River and tributaries still belonged to the Indians, no present advantage could be taken of their discovery.

Under the treaty of Lake Poygan in the fall of 1848, the Indians sold to the government all their lands lying west of Wolf River. This included their country on Wisconsin River and its tributaries—Yellow River being one. As soon as this treaty became known on the Wisconsin River, Mr. Werner and J. T. Kingston, employing Jo. Gill to accompany them, started to make a further exploration of the Yellow River country. Procuring a skiff and the necessary outfit of provisions, etc., at the rapids, they proceeded down the Wisconsin to the mouth of the Yellow River. Turning up the latter stream, they tried for two or three days to keep the skiff along with them for the purpose of more easily carrying their provisions; but owing to the low stage of the water, and the numerous trees and sand-bars across the channel, they were forced to abandon the skiff, and depend upon packing their provisions as best they could. Continuing on up the river for a distance of about twenty miles, they started across the country for home by way of Point Bausse. Game was found in abundance, and a plentiful supply of provisions was always on hand.

This trip was made for the purpose of finding a suitable location for mills and a general lumber business; and as they could not take possession, as they supposed, of any desirable points, if found, they left no marks to attract the attention of any other parties who might explore the country for a like purpose. The mouth of the river, and the present location of Necedah, were the only points which they deemed at all desirable for milling and lumbering purposes. The same parties, at a subsequent period, were again at the point now known as Necedah. They laid up three or four rounds of a log shanty, blazed a tree on either bank of the river, wrote their names, date of claim, and took formal possession, according to the claim laws and usages

then existing in the Western country. A day or two subsequently Andrew Dunn and Hugh McFarlane reached the same locality; but finding the land already claimed, returned home without making any further explorations.

Werner and Kingston, returning to the rapids, met Mr. Weston, and a day or two afterwards formed a company to operate on Yellow River, under the name of T. Weston and Co., consisting of Thomas Weston, John Werner, Jr., and J. T. Kingston—the first a native of Vermont, the second of New York, and the third of Illinois.

Arrangements were then made to immediately commence operations. Uriah Hill and Usal V. Jeffreys were hired to run a small raft of lumber down to the mouth of Yellow River, with instructions to put up a shanty about eighty rods below the mouth, on the west side of the Wisconsin, and also to clear off and fence a small amount of land adjoining.

A few days after Hill and Jeffreys left with the raft, Weston and Werner started for the Yellow River country, for the purpose of selecting a suitable place for logging operations during the ensuing winter. Reaching the river near the point where they had left, in the winter of '44 and '45, they traveled down stream a few miles; and finding a grove of pine which they thought sufficient to answer the purpose, Werner returned again to Grand Rapids, and Weston continued on down the river, intending to meet Kingston at the shanty at the mouth of the stream. On reaching the shanty, he found that Kingston had arrived there two or three days previously. Remaining over the next day, the two started in company the day following up the river, for the purpose of more thoroughly examining the grove of pine mentioned, and also for the purpose of looking out a suitable route for a road to Point Bausse, the nearest point from which to obtain supplies for the camp. Being satisfied with the timber, they took as direct a course as possible for Point Bausse, blazing as they traveled the route of the proposed road.

It was now about the middle of November, and there being neither roads nor houses in that section of the country, and the snow from six to eight inches deep, they found the trip rather

tedious. Reaching the Wisconsin opposite Point Bausse late in the evening, they found the river full of running ice, which rendered the crossing that night impossible. The next morning, after a cold camping out, the ice was sufficiently strong for crossing.

It is proper, in this connection, to mention, that E. S. Miner was in company with John Werner, Jr., in the mercantile business at the Grand Rapids, from the fall of 1844 until the winter of 1849 and '50; and that Mr. Miner held an equal interest with Mr. Werner in the firm of T. Weston & Co., at the date of the organization of that company near the close of 1848; and also, that Miner was very much interested, and was at equal expense with the other parties mentioned, in all the explorations on the Yellow River subsequent to the year 1843—though the facts last mentioned were not known to the writer at the time.

Weston and Kingston reaching the rapids the same day on which they crossed the Wisconsin at Point Bausse, met Messrs. Miner and Werner, and immediately commenced to make preparations for logging on the Yellow River the ensuing winter. Three yoke of oxen were brought. sleds procured, and all the necessary tools provided to commence operations. The crew hired for the winter consisted of nine men, besides Weston and Kingston, viz.: Moses Vanbunker, Daniel Dugan, Prospier Beauchane, John B. Savor, Samuel Bean, George A. Peters, Gilbert Adams, Uriah Hill, and Usal V. Jeffreys, who came up to the camp from the shanty at the mouth of the river. Vanbunker, Beauchane, and Savor were from Canada, Dugan from Ireland, and Adams from the State of Maine. Wages paid, from eighteen to twenty dollars per month. A mill-wright and one or two other men were engaged at the rapids, to build the wheel and other machinery and gearing for the mill, to be erected as early as possible the ensuing season.

On December 21st, 1848, the crew and teams left the Grand Rapids; and, on the 22d, crossed the Wisconsin at Point Bausse, and commenced cutting out the road through to the location selected for the camp on the Yellow River, a distance of ten or twelve miles from the Point. The snow was now from eighteen to twenty inches deep, and the traveling for the men and teams was,

consequently, very slow. The first day they made about four miles from the Point, and camped on the west side of Cranberry Creek. The snow was cleared away for the teams, and also for a brush camp for the men. Supper over, and the teams attended to, all hands turned in, and made themselves as comfortable as possible for the night. The second day was more tedious and tiresome, both for the men and teams, the latter frequently breaking through the ice on the marshes, making the progress very difficult. About dark they reached Yellow River, and, all being tired, made as few preparations as possible before retiring to rest.

The next morning, work was commenced upon the camp for the men, and "hovels" for the cattle, which were completed and ready for occupation in the course of five or six days. The camp was built after the State of Maine plan, an open fire-place in the center, six by ten feet, with bunks and deacon-seats on either side.*

The men employed during this season were Alanson Eaton, Oliver Bourbon, Morris Thomas, Edwin Thayer, Anthony Philips, Jr., Nicholas Bateman, M. Fesette, A. Philips, Sen., Wm. and Henry Harding, Levi Girneau, Richard Baker, John Potveign, Uriah Hill, and A. Wiltse, the mill-wright—twenty men in all, including Weston and Kingston.

This was the first settlement made north of the Lemonweir River, in the present county of Juneau, excepting the shanty previously erected, at the mouth of the river, by the same parties; and a few temporary locations formerly made by Indian traders, but now abandoned.

During the fall of this year, 1849, a track was blazed through in a southerly direction to the settlement made, about the same time, by Messrs. Carpenter and Randall, on the south side of the Lemonweir; and still later in the fall, a road was cut out leading up Yellow River, into the present county of Wood, a distance of about thirty miles.

A considerable trade in cranberries was carried on the same fall with the Winnebago Indians, who were much more numerous in the country at that period than at the present time. Although they had been twice removed from Wisconsin by the govern-

* See pp. 475-477 for accidentally omitted paragraphs.—R. G. T.

ment previous to this date, they were back again within a short time, about as numerous as before. The early settlers of the county experienced considerable annoyance from this tribe of Indians; and more particularly was this the case with the settlers who were unacquainted with the Indian nature and habits.

Early in the winter of 1849 and '50, Burley Philbrick, Newell Carleton, M. Labaree, and J. Turner came to Necedah; and, after stopping a short time, continued on up Yellow River, about twenty miles, into the present county of Wood, and engaged in getting out square timber for the lower market. During the winter they were compelled to haul their provisions through to the camp on a hand-sled. In the following spring, they rafted and run their timber out of Yellow River, these being the first rafts run out of that stream. All of those parties were recently from the State of Maine.

During the winter, the firm of T. Weston & Co. banked between three and four thousand logs, scaling from ten to twelve hundred thousand feet. Wages paid the men, from \$14 to \$18 per month, the same wages continuing until the logs reached the mill in the spring. Early in the spring, the lumber manufactured the previous fall and winter, was rafted and run to market, and the mill was kept in active operation during the ensuing season. The old "sash saw," not yet being dispensed with, from eight to ten thousand feet of lumber per day of twelve hours, was considered good work—the latter amount rather above the average. During this season, the lumber sold at ten dollars and a half per thousand delivered at Galena.

During this winter, Mr. Werner sold out his interest in the Yellow River concern to Mr. Miner; and from this time dates the firm of T. Weston & Co., as now constituted.

In May, 1850, Mr. Miner removed with his family, consisting of himself, wife, and one child, and Miss Angeline Brown (now Mrs. Alvin Blake), to Necedah, from the Grand Rapids. A frame house, a part of the present Bentley House, had previously been put up; and during the summer an addition was made to the building. This was the first family, and the first frame house built in the present county of Juneau, north of the Lemonweir River.

In the fall of the same year was born Ella, eldest daughter of Mr. Miner, the first native white child born in the same territory. About the latter part of July, Robert Thompson came up with his family from the southern part of the State—making the second family at Necedah.

During this season the following men were employed about the mill and on the river, in addition to those of the former set who remained at the mill, viz: Lucius Lawrence, James Trumbull, J. Williamson, Daniel Kellogg, N. Carleton, B. Philbrick, Charles Holmes, W. Adams, J. Pixley, J. S. Hoyt, K. Bishop, C. A. McCauley, and Robert Peaslee. Late in the season, John H. Armstrong, John McGregor, and William Adderly came. The last three were from New Brunswick, and were employed to work for H. W. Kingsbury, of Quincy, who had a contract to log for T. Weston & Co. the ensuing winter. William D. Peaslee came about the same time. He was formerly from the State of Maine; but had worked on the Lemonweir and Wisconsin rivers for the preceding two years. This winter, Peaslee, in company with two or three others, built a camp on Yellow River, near the present village of Dexterville, and were engaged in getting out square timber.

Early in this season, 1850, a road was cut out to the mouth of Yellow River, on the west side; and the year following was continued on down the Wisconsin, on the east side, by the way of Dell Prairie, to Portage City, making a more direct route from the Yellow River country to that place, the chief point for supplies at that date for the Upper Wisconsin and its tributaries. During the winter of 1850–51, T. Weston & Co. banked with their own teams and by contract, about eight thousand logs, sealing over three million feet.

In the early part of 1851, Weston & Co. made an arrangement with Mr. Werner to saw lumber for them on shares, Werner to furnish mill and power. In the spring he removed with his family from Grand Rapids to Necedah, and commenced the erection of a steam sawmill at the latter place. The mill was completed, and put in operation the ensuing summer, and was the first steam sawmill built on the Wisconsin River waters above the mouth of

the Kickapoo. A road was opened through from Necedah to the Grand Rapids during the year.

In the course of this year the following men were employed about the mill and on the river, running lumber, etc., in addition to those mentioned the previous year, part of whom still remained, viz: George Barstow, E. Carleton, Louis Sharkee, W. Lawrence, Gaston, William Adderly, John H. Armstrong, John McGregor, E. Mitchell, L. Emery, Joseph Hilton, F. Chase, R. Huntley, S. F. Brown, N. St. Germaine, Thomas Combs, M. Cluff, James McGregor, Chas. Sweet, E. Emmons, and John Wermoth. Emery and Huntley brought their families during the summer of the same year. Alvin Blake and Wm. Peck came up the same season.

In the year 1851, the new settlement began to put on the appearance of a village. A store had been opened by the proprietors, with a small stock of goods to supply the wants of the mill hands. Several additional houses had been erected during the season, and both mills were kept in active operation during the summer and the ensuing winter. Lumber delivered in Galena brought from eleven to twelve dollars per thousand.

The first death occurred in the settlement this year. A Mrs. Kimball, from farther up the river, was brought down sick, and, dying in the month of May, became the first occupant of the village cemetery.

The land was surveyed by the government during this season, Messrs. Stuntz and Sargent running the township lines, and a Mr. Davis, and Hon. J. T. Clark, at present of Lancaster, Grant County, running the sub-divisions. Several parties, in the course of the year, made locations farther up the river, in the present county of Wood, with a view to the erection of mills, and going into lumber operations, all indicating a lively business on Yellow River in the future.

The spring of 1852 opened up in the usual manner with lumbermen, driving logs, rafting, and running lumber on the river, occupying the time and attention of the whole community. Several rafts of square timber were run out from farther up the river in the spring. And the Owen brothers, of Baraboo, tried the experiment of driving out shingles in the bunch and shingle

"bolts;" but the experiment not proving successful, it has not since been repeated on the river.

Additional men employed about the mills and on the river this season were: J. Dunn, W. H. Cole, O. Williams, Alex. Christian, James Campbell, Thomas Campbell, James Nesbit, John Hodge, Stephen Young, O. Owens, Columbus Dawes, John Casely, John Murphy, B. Gahen, Nicholas Brown, James Welch, Freeman Pearsall, Edwin Thayer, Charles Telfer, Thomas Morehouse, and Dennis Bishop. Several of these men had worked in the logging camps during the preceding winter. Wages paid from fourteen to twenty dollars per month.

A public school, free to all the children in the village and vicinity, was opened by the proprietors of the place the same year, and continued at their expense until the organization of the district school. The first teacher was Miss M. C. Fay. A Sunday school was also organized by a Mr. Darrow the same season.

In this year, 1852, an election precinct was established at Necedah, by order of the board of supervisors of Sauk County, to which the counties of Adams and Juneau were then attached. An election for State and county officers was held the same fall; but as the returns of the election were made directly to Baraboo, the county seat of Sauk County, the number or the names of the voters have not been obtained. At this election Sauk County polled quite a heavy Democratic majority; but Adams County thinking best to act a little independent in political matters, cast nearly a unanimous vote for the Whig candidates for county officers, electing the latter by a fair majority. This result not proving satisfactory to the Democratic politicians of Sauk County, hastened the organization of Adams as an independent county.

In the fall of this year, the nearest post-office was Dell Prairie, in the present county of Adams; but in the early part of the following winter, the mail route was extended through to Necedah, T. Weston & Co. carrying the mail on the new route, for the proceeds of the several offices between those points.

During the winter of 1852-53, there was quite an increase of business on Yellow River. Besides the mills at Necedah, already

mentioned, several others had been built, or were in course of erection farther up the stream. All the travel to and fro from those settlements having to pass through Necedah, gave the village at times quite a lively appearance. The number of families there had now increased to eleven, and several others had settled in the near vicinity.

Necedah during this winter was set off into a separate town, embracing all the territory from the south line of township eighteen, to the north line of township twenty, and range two to six both included, covering, with the overplus in the northern tier of townships, sixteen and a half townships, or five hundred and ninety-four square miles.

On the 5th of April of this year, 1853, the town of Necedah was fully organized by the election of the necessary town officers, to wit: town supervisors, Thomas Weston, chairman, John Werner, Jr., and Robert Dawes; town clerk, J. T. Kingston; treasurer, E. S. Miner; justices of the peace, E. S. Miner, John Werner, Jr., and Edwin S. Knapp; overseers of highways, Charles Dawes and J. T. Kingston; constables, R. Huntley and E. R. Knapp.

At the general election held November 8th of this year, the whole number of votes cast was twenty-six; at which time the question of a prohibitory liquor law was submitted to a vote of the people. On this question the returns stood twenty-two votes for, and one vote against the law; and the same principle of prohibition has prevailed in the town, with the exception of three or four years, since that date.

During the summer, the Rev. Mr. Fisher, of the Baptist denomination, paid Necedah a visit, and preached the first sermon in the present county of Juneau, north of the Lemonweir River. In the following year, 1854, the Rev. Mr. Seger, a Christian, and Rev. Mr. Gale, of the Methodist denomination, visited this part of the county, and preached in the village and vicinity. In the fall of 1855, Necedah and New Lisbon were organized into a circuit by the conference of the M. E. Church, and placed under the charge of the Rev. E. S. Bunce, who made Necedah his place of residence. He was followed the next year by Rev. John Bean.

On the 8th of December, 1854, E. S. Miner, town superintendent, issued a notice to the taxable inhabitants that a school district had been formed, embracing all that part of the town of Necedah, lying west of the Wisconsin, to be known as district number one, and appointing the 23d of the same month, at seven o'clock P. M., as the time, and the house of E. S. Miner, the present Dixie House, as the place for holding the first meeting. This notice was delivered to John Werner, Jr., directing him to serve the same upon all the qualified voters of the district. And on the 23d, Werner certified to the superintendent that he had served said notice on the qualified voters of the district, thirty in all. At this meeting, William Peek was chosen chairman, and E. S. Miner, clerk. The following persons were elected as the district board for the year ensuing, to-wit.: Charles Dawes, director; John Werner, Jr., clerk, and J. T. Kingston, treasurer. The first district teacher was Miss Mary Morehouse.

During the years 1854-55, the lumber business greatly increased on Yellow River, and Necedah began to attract considerable attention as a lumber point. The year following, Messrs. Sadd and Jenkins built a steam-mill in the village, and Messrs. Humes and Beckwith built a mill on the river, about three miles north; the former was afterwards sold to T. Weston & Co., and the latter was subsequently moved down to the village and sold to Messrs. A. H. Cronkhite & Co. Other mills were shortly afterwards built, one by Nelson Beckwith, now owned by Geo. B. Burch & Co., and one also by the Shorey Brothers. A planing mill was also erected by Messrs. Fuller and Ray.

On November 14th, 1856, the town of Necedah was divided, by order of the board of supervisors of Adams County, all that part lying west of the Wisconsin River and north of township eighteen was organized as the town of Armenia. At a subsequent period, all that part of Armenia lying west of Yellow River was re-attached to and still remains a part of the town of Necedah.

From this date Necedah rapidly improved, and within a few years became the equal of her sister villages in the county both in wealth and population. The original village was laid out and

platted by T. Weston & Co., in 1856, and incorporated as a village by act of the legislature, February 28th, 1870.

Previous to the treaty of Fort Winnebago, in the fall of 1836, by which the Winnebago tribe of Indians ceded all of their lands lying south of the Lemonweir River, and east of the Wisconsin River, to the general government, the territory now embraced within the limits of Juneau County was only known to Indian traders and trappers. Soon after that treaty, however, immigration began to extend west into Sauk and other counties on the west side of the Wisconsin; but still the country north remained a wilderness for several years longer, and not until the attention of lumbermen was turned to the Baraboo and Lemonweir rivers, were any permanent settlements made in that section of the country. By the treaty of Lake Poygan, in the fall of 1848, the Menomonee Indians ceded all their lands lying west of the Wolf River, and south of the Waupaca, to the general government.

In the political division of the State, the country now known as Juneau County was for a time cast off without a name, and only known as the country adjoining Sauk County on the north. The political history of the county properly dates from the organization of Adams County, in the year 1848, in which year the latter county was established by act of the Territorial legislature, and attached to the county of Sauk. The boundaries of Adams County at that date extended from the south line of township fourteen to the north line of township twenty, and from ranges two to seven, both included, embracing the present counties of Adams and Juneau, and covering an area of fifteen hundred and sixty-six square miles. Up to this date, the settlements in the county were confined to the towns of New Haven and Dell Prairie, on the east side of the Wisconsin River; and to the Lemonweir valley, on the west side. Previous to the year 1851, the lumbermen were the pioneer settlers west of the Wisconsin, as they have, in fact, been throughout the central and northern portions of the State.

In the winter of 1849, the boundaries of the county on the west side of the Wisconsin, were changed. Sauk County *borrowing*, by act of the legislature, all of township fourteen, and the

south half of township fifteen, from range one, east, to the Wisconsin River, this strip of nine miles in width extending from our present western line east the whole width of the county, and reaching almost as far as the present Lemonweir station on the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railroad.

Early in the session of the legislature of 1853, Adams County was organized for judicial purposes, and attached to the 3d judicial circuit, composed of the counties of Adams, Sauk, Washington, Dodge, Columbia, Marquette, and Portage; but later in the session the 7th judicial circuit was established, composed of the counties of Adams, Waushara, Waupaca, Portage and Marathon. During the same session of the legislature, the boundaries of Adams County as established in 1848, were restored; this last arrangement of boundaries, however, did not appear to suit the *friends* in Sauk County; but as Senator Daniel S. Vittum, who represented Sauk and Adams counties in the legislature during that session, was in favor of doing justice in the matter, they failed in their efforts to prevent the establishment of the former boundaries of the county.

No further changes of importance, either political or judicial, occurred in the county until the year 1855. All was peace and harmony. But Mauston was a rising village, and began to take on airs; wanted to become a county-seat; and hence, through her efforts and influence in the winter of this year, a bill was carried through the legislature submitting to a vote of the people the question of the division of Adams County on the line of the Wisconsin River, and the creation of a new county under the name of Juneau. And here originated all the subsequent trouble in the once "happy family."

New Lisbon now considering herself of some importance, and a little jealous perhaps of the influence of Mauston, entered into an agreement with Necedah, just then appearing, as an embryo village, to try and defeat the division of the old county and the creation of the new, with the understanding that if the question of division were carried by a vote of the people, the latter village was to help New Lisbon obtain the county-seat. And that there might be no mistake in the matter, New Lisbon, a couple of days

before the election sent over a delegation of her citizens to remind Necedah of the former agreement. But unfortunately for the best laid plans, and particularly for Necedah in this instance, when the day of election came, New Lisbon, forgetting her former agreement, voted nearly solid for a division of the county, and thereby carried the question of division by a respectable majority.

At the ensuing session of the legislature, a bill was introduced to organize the county of Juneau, the act to take effect January 1st, 1857, the bill also fixing the point for the county-seat. The county seat being yet undetermined, and Necedah, in order to show a proper resentment toward her near and forgetful neighbor, and in a spirit not altogether Christian, perhaps, made common interest with Mauston to defeat New Lisbon in the county-seat matter. But the proprietors of this enterprising village, acting upon the theory that self-interest is the ruling principle in man, particularly in legislatures, by a wise distribution of a few "corner lots," secured the passage of the bill, and the location of the county-seat at New Lisbon.

This result, however, only stimulated the people of Mauston to new and greater efforts, and in a couple of years subsequently they secured the passage of a bill through the legislature submitting to the people of the county the question of the removal of the county-seat to that place. In the meantime some personal disagreements arising between the people of Mauston and Necedah, in a measure forced the people of the latter village to change their views and votes on the county-seat question.

When the day of voting came, the people of New Lisbon, taking a just pride in the prosperity of their village, and to show their great numerical increase since the last election, and also acting, perhaps, on the principle that "the end justifies the means," became a little reckless in their manner of voting, which resulted, when a legal canvass of the votes was made, in transferring the county offices and records to their persistent rival village.

But still the county-seat question remained unsettled, dividing those in sentiment who otherwise would have been friends, entering into all county conventions and elections, and in a measure retarding the growth and prosperity of the county. New Lisbon

and her friends again demanded a vote on the county-seat; and, in 1867, the question was a second time submitted to a vote of the people. Both villages now put forth every effort. Money was freely paid, and pledges as freely made by both to secure votes. In the interest of one party an *imaginary* election precinct was located at "Hickory Grove," near the north line of the county, and forty-three votes unanimously on one side were returned; but by a slight mistake on the part of the messenger the returns failed to reach the board of county canvassers, and when the official canvass was made the vote was declared a tie. This result the people of New Lisbon claimed, and perhaps justly, was reached by changing the votes of one of the lower towns after the returns left the hands of the messenger, and before the final count by the board of canvassers. New Lisbon failing to secure a majority of the votes, is still without the county-seat.

The Swiss Colony of New Glarus

By John Luchsinger*

In the northern part of Green County, Wisconsin, about sixteen miles north of Monroe, the county-seat, and about twenty-five miles southwest of Madison, is situated the little village of New Glarus. This village, as well as the township in which it lies, was so named after the canton and town of Glarus in eastern Switzerland, of which place the inhabitants are natives or their descendants. Pleasantly located on the west bank of Little Sugar River, on sloping ground, and in the midst of varied, rather rough, yet pleasing scenery, it presents a romantic and somewhat un-American appearance, owing to the diversified style of its buildings, and its plain yet queer church tower, unlike any other outside of the old country. The houses are mostly built on the border of the streets, there being no sidewalks for foot passengers, nor space in front for shade trees. The village contains about fifty dwellings, with barns and other out-buildings. There are two churches, two school-houses, a grist and sawmill run by water power, a large cheese factory, a brewery, three stores and four hotels and saloons.

The population is about two hundred. A physician, a minister of the Swiss Reformed Church, and two school-masters reside in the place, and attend to the medical, religious, and educational wants of the people. There are, besides, artisans, mechanics and laborers of all trades and occupations needed by a community of

* The writer of this paper, Hon. John Luchsinger, was born in the canton of Glarus, Switzerland, June 29th, 1839; was brought by his parents, while yet a child, to the United States in 1845, first settling in Syracuse, N. Y., and the same year removing to Philadelphia, where young Luchsinger received his education in the Jefferson grammar school. He settled among his countrymen at New Glarus, Wisconsin, in 1856, where he has held various town offices, and served in the legislature in 1873, 1876, 1877, and 1878, with credit to himself and usefulness to the people.

this size, thus rendering this settlement quite independent of the surrounding villages—in fact, it is a community within itself.

The people of the village, as well as of the surrounding country, speak among themselves almost exclusively the German-Swiss dialect, peculiar to their native country. It is spoken on the streets and at home. All school and town meetings and elections, and even proceedings in justices' courts, are of necessity conducted in this language. A stranger stopping here for the first time could easily imagine that he had dropped down upon a portion of Switzerland; and he would not be far wrong, for the village and adjacent country for many miles around are peopled almost wholly by Swiss or their descendants. They occupy, with the exception of a small portion on the northern and eastern boundaries, the whole of the township; the only persons of other nationalities in the town being three or four families of Norwegians and Irish. In fully one-half of the town of Washington, and large portions of half a dozen other towns in Green County, and also in the southern part of Dane, a number of Swiss have gained a foothold. The number of Swiss and their descendants in Green County alone exceeds three thousand—comprising about one-seventh of the entire population of the county. The village of New Glarus is the central point of gathering on all holidays and festivals; and is also the place where religious services are held for most of the Swiss in the county.

The people of this settlement are noted for their industry, frugality and economy—qualities which with them are inherited—their ancestors having from necessity been obliged to practice them for many centuries, owing to the sterile and mountainous character of their father-land, where nature yields her bounties grudgingly, and with scanty measure. One cannot help observing, on entering the settlement, the effect of these good qualities; good, comfortable houses, spacious and substantial barns, and other out-buildings are seen everywhere; and nowhere in Green County is so much money expended in permanent improvements as here, and that, too, in the face of the fact that the country is very broken and rough, the soil on the uplands thin, liable to wash away at every heavy rain, and in many places stony.

But the people at an early period betook themselves to dairy farming and the raising of cattle. To this branch of industry they were well adapted, and thoroughly understood it, that being of necessity the only branch of agriculture possible among the mountains of their old home. This vicinity is also well suited for the purpose; for the hill pastures produce sweet, nutritious, if scant, grasses, while the natural meadows in the bottoms yield an abundance of good hay, and springs and streams of pure, cool water abound, almost every farm being supplied with running water. All these are requisites in order to produce excellence in the product, and health in the stock.

The people, as a rule, are hard-working, believing that honest, old-fashioned, sturdy strokes and blows are required to secure a livelihood and competence. They are economical also, to the verge of penuriousness; spending less than they earn, the mystery is easily explained why they get on in the world better than many of their neighbors of American or other nationalities, who are often heard to express wonder how people with so many obstacles, natural and artificial, to contend with, should have done so well. Industry and economy will bring about the same good result in any nation or country. The people are generally less involved in debt, and less complaint of hard times is heard here than in other sections of the country.

But it will now, perhaps, be of more interest to speak of this settlement and people more in detail; and, to begin at the beginning, first in order will be an account of the origin of the colony of New Glarus.

Prior to the year 1845, for about fifteen years, the times in Europe were prosperous. A long reign of peace had given an impetus to trade, and manufactures had greatly increased, so that the large surplus population of Switzerland, that had formerly found vent by enlisting in foreign armies, now found employment in the factories; and, as long as trade was good, every one prospered. About this period, a general stagnation in business occurred, which threw large numbers of the poor out of employment; and added to this, a partial failure in crops caused a rise in the price of the necessaries of life, so that distress was great among

the working classes, and it became a serious question to the governments of the Swiss cantons as to what would be the fate of many of those who had hitherto obtained bread, and were contented, during prosperous times.

The portions of arable land which were owned by the different parishes, and allotted to each citizen for cultivation annually, were becoming smaller and smaller as the population increased, being at that time from forty to one hundred and sixty klafters of six feet square each, for the head of every family, according as the parish he happened to belong to, was rich or the reverse. The parishes and communes in many instances not only owned these portions of arable land, but also the summer pastures on the Alps, which were leased from time to time to private parties. The income from this source, and also from the forests, which are mainly owned in the same way, is applied to the payment of salaries to preachers and the civil officials; taxation, in consequence of this large income, is very light in many localities.

Every citizen in Glarus is entitled to the use of one of these portions, which he may cultivate himself or by others; or he may give or lease it to others, if not in condition to use it himself. When any left the country, the value of such a share, together with other privileges, was estimated, and paid in money to those who migrated, being, in fact, a premium on emigration. These small parcels were mainly planted with potatoes, beans and other vegetables, the raising of grain being almost unknown in Glarus, the people depending for breadstuffs partly on Italy, but mostly on Hungary. In times of depression, the food of the poorer working classes is mainly potatoes, with salt or green cheese, called *schab-zieger*, for spice or seasoning. This cheese is made from skim-milk coagulated with acid whey, then packed in casks and left to ripen, which occurs in about four weeks. It is then ground in a mill, and mixed with a certain proportion of leaves of a species of blue pansy, which are previously dried and pulverized for the purpose. After being thoroughly mixed, the cheese is pressed into conical moulds, which hold about two pounds; and, after drying, is ready for use. When ripe, it is of a dark green color, and so hard that it can be grated like a nutmeg. The so-called sap-sago

cheese is its counterpart. Coffee is made from the roots of chicory, and is drank without sugar, and in many families without milk. The supply of bread even in prosperous times is limited, the housewife allotting to each a certain portion, and no more.

The leading men of the canton of Glarus cast about for means by which this over-population and consequent distress, could be relieved. Meetings were held, and it was thought that an emigration under the care and control of the government would be the best method of relief. Another meeting to devise ways and means was called, and was largely attended at Schwanden, and a committee was appointed to wait on the authorities and ask their co-operation. This was extended, and the sum of fifteen hundred gulden or florins was appropriated for the purpose of sending two pioneers to the United States of America, to seek and locate a tract of land for a colony. An Emigration Society was also formed, and took charge of the funds, which were increased by private subscription; and appointed two intelligent men to select a suitable location, and purchase lands on which to plant the colony—one was Nicholas Duerst, then forty-eight years old, who came out only to see the settlement well under way, and then returned to Switzerland, where he died in 1874, at the good old age of seventy-seven years; his associate was Fridolin Streiff, then twenty-nine years of age. Mr. Streiff agreed to remain three years with the colony, and extend to them every assistance and advice. Before that time expired, he sent for his family, and now resides at Monroe, Wisconsin.

On the 8th of March, 1845, the pioneers started on their voyage and search for a new home, accompanied by the warmest wishes for their success of those who remained behind, but were soon to follow. In due time they arrived in this country, and sought W. H. Blumer, in Allentown, Pa., a fellow Swiss, who assisted them with his advice; and from his many years' residence in America, was well capable of rendering them very essential aid by his knowledge and experience.

They had received from the Emigration Society, instructions to buy twelve hundred acres of land in one body, with sufficient timber. After wandering through several states in search of a

location, which, according to their instructions, must have a healthy climate, good water, and plenty of timber, they came into the vicinity of Mineral Point, and proceeded to the land office, then located there, for advice and directions. They first examined a tract in Rock County, close to the line of the Mineral Point and Milwaukee Land District; but, on returning to the Point, found that it had just been bought. After further fruitless search in the Wisconsin River Valley, in Dane and Sauk counties, they were finally directed to Little Sugar River, where, on both sides of the Mineral Point and Milwaukee road, they found and located a tract according to instructions. Twelve hundred acres were purchased in one body, and eighty acres of heavy timber two miles south of the main location.

It was considered an excellent selection. Springs abounded, the soil appeared good; and as it was on one of the most frequently traveled roads at that time in the State, a railroad seemed to be a possibility; but this expectation has not yet been realized. Owing to location, and the difficult character of the country, railroads have passed us by: the nearest station is Brooklyn, fifteen miles east, on the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad. If the pioneers had not literally followed the instruction to buy in one body, it would have been better, as the twelve hundred acres included much rough and worthless land which could have been avoided, and valuable land bought instead; but it is of little consequence now, as it all, good and bad, belongs to the colonists, their children or their countrymen.

As soon as possible after taking possession of the land, the two pioneers commenced building a little cabin on the western bank of Little Sugar River, near the east wall of the old grave-yard, covering it with boards; it was a small affair, and is only recollected, and referred to, as the primitive hut of the settlement.

And here we will leave them awhile, and rehearse the story of the migration, and final arrival, of the little colony of which they were the precursors. On the 10th of April, 1845, one hundred and ninety-three persons, of all ages and both sexes, were collected on the banks of the Linth canal, which runs alongside of the Linth River, a tributary of the Rhine, in the canton of Glarus.

They were the colonists who had declared their readiness to venture into the strange, far-off land, called America, of which they had read and heard so much, as being the home and haven of the poor; and where those who came with stout hands and willing hearts were sure eventually to reap a rich reward. But among all who were ready to go, but few could look back upon the frowning, yet beloved, mountains, on whose sides they had left their poor homes, humble friends and kindred, without feeling their courage tried almost to failure. But in the land they were leaving, poverty stared them in the face, and want and oppression were always the lot of the poor, with no hope of improvement. Before them lay the land of golden promise, where they believed that honest labor would meet its just reward, and where they could lift themselves and their children to competence, independence, and equality with other men, by their own exertions—which was well nigh impossible in their old home. Therefore, with hearts full of grief, and tearful eyes, they took leave of friends and fatherland; and with few earthly goods, but with bright hopes for the future, they embarked in an open boat or barge.

Before starting, M. Jenny, a delegate from the government, addressed them in a feeling manner. He urged upon all the necessity of industry and concord as indispensable to their success, and after commending them to the care of Providence, bade them God speed, and amid the tears and good wishes of hundreds of friends, who had come to witness their departure, the emigrants started on the way, and slowly commenced their wearisome journey to the New World.

The emigrants chose two of their number, George Legler, Sr., now of New Glarus, and Jacob Grob, to act as leaders and spokesmen during the migration, and to preserve order among the party, and exercise general care and supervision over everything connected with the journey. The colonists, on their part, promised to render due obedience to their directions and commands. On reaching Zurich the weather became very inclement, and snow fell. The women and children would have suffered greatly, but for the kindness of a Swiss gentleman, Cosmos Blumer, the then

representative of the canton of Glarus in the Swiss legislature, who accompanied them on this part of their journey, and provided covered wagons, in which they followed the boat on shore until all reached Basle.

The journey from this place to Rotterdam, in Holland, was continued on the Rhine; it was slow and tedious, which, combined with the cold wintry weather, and an uncertain future prospect, was the cause of much depression to all. Arriving at Rotterdam, on the 6th of May, they learned that the ship on which they were to sail lay at New Dieppe. Proceeding to that place, the ship was found to be not yet ready to sail; it having been engaged in carrying cotton from New Orleans to Europe, was not provided with berths, etc., for the accommodation of passengers. The colonists were thus delayed six days, until the ship was fitted for their reception. This caused the already needy people a great expense, which, however, was partially alleviated by an advance of one hundred gulden by a warm-hearted Swiss gentleman, P. Jenny. However, on the 12th of May, they embarked for Baltimore; and, after a stormy, toilsome voyage of forty-nine days, arrived at that place on the 30th of June.

They there contracted for passage to St. Louis, that being the point where they were directed to await orders from the pioneer agents, Duerst and Streiff. At Baltimore they were, for the first time, put on railway cars, and were carried about fifty miles, to Columbia, Pa. At the point where the road crossed a mountain, the first cars were drawn up by an engine on the top, by means of wire ropes, and then the descending cars were made to pull up the others. At Columbia they were placed on board canal boats, in which they were conveyed to Pittsburg, Pa. From thence they descended the Ohio in barges to Cincinnati; thence for the first time they rode in a steamboat, which took them to St. Louis, where they arrived on the 23d of July. They were here kindly received and entertained by Swiss countrymen, who were settled in that city.

No intelligence, no directions, had yet been received from the pioneer agents. On the contrary, after waiting some days, the discouraging but false rumor reached them, that in penetrating

into the interior, those adventurous agents had lost their lives. What was to be done? Long delay would inevitably break up the party; some had already, through fear, dissatisfaction or other causes, dropped off, and sought and found work at some of the various stopping places by the way.

After remaining, with no little anxiety, in St. Louis two weeks, with no tidings from their agents, it was resolved that two of the party should go and search for them. Jacob Grob and Matthias Duerst were selected for this service. They proceeded to Galena, Ill., and there learned that those whom they were seeking had been there some weeks before, and had gone northward. They were advised to go to Mineral Point, where there was a government land office; and where the pioneer agents would have been likely to enter land, in case they had bought in Wisconsin. The searchers went to "the Point," as it was termed; and, on inquiry at the office, found that their agents had bought land in town four, range seven, on Little Sugar River. The men were much rejoiced when this good news was communicated to them, and at once sent back word to St. Louis for the party to start for Galena immediately. They then resolved to find the location. Mr. Theodore Rodolph, now of La Crosse, who was then at Mineral Point, offered his services as guide, which were thankfully accepted. They commenced their journey at once over a trackless country for thirty-two miles, fording creeks and streams, with a compass to direct their course, until they came to a point directly north of the location about three miles, according to a corner stake which was found on a hill.

Rodolph led the men due south, and, on rounding a point of brush land, came directly upon the pioneers, on the 8th of August, who were busy erecting the primitive hut of the settlement. After the first joyous greetings were over, it was decided that Mr. Nicholas Duerst should go to St. Louis, and guide the colonists to their new home.

The two newcomers were eager and anxious to remain, and assist in the work of building. Duerst at once left, and had proceeded as far as Galena, when just as he was about to leave for St. Louis one morning, he heard some one remark that a large party of em-

igrants had arrived in town the evening before. Curiosity caused him to make inquiries, when, to his astonishment, he found that those whom he was going to St. Louis to escort, were already in Galena. He at once directed that the able bodied men should start for the new settlement, and assist in building the necessary shelter for the reception of the colonists, while he would arrange to follow with the main body.

On the afternoon of the same day, eighteen men started on foot for the settlement, with eager steps, a distance of sixty-two miles. They traveled all night and the next day, when they arrived at Wiota, in La Fayette County. There they obtained a night's shelter in a stable; and the next morning, after procuring the services of a guide, there being no traveled track there, and buying some flour at a mill on the Yellow Stone River, they, without much difficulty, walked the rest of the way to their land, arriving late in the evening, foot-sore and weary.

They related that every person whom they met, fled at their approach, and no wonder; for bearded, unkempt, and ragged as they were, carrying axes and tools of every description, and bags of flour and provisions, they at a distance more resembled a band of robbers than a party of honest emigrants.

Upon their arrival, they united with their three predecessors, and erected a much larger hut than the primitive structure. This was located near the west wall, and within the enclosure of the old grave-yard, and close to where the district school-house now stands. Its size is not recollected. A large excavation was made in the hill-side, posts were inserted in the ground, the sides inclosed with boards hauled sixty-two miles from Galena, and covered with boughs and wild hay. The floor was constructed of split poplar logs, the riven side uppermost; and no windows, nor chimney. All possible diligence was used to complete the rude structure, and have it in readiness for the coming colonists. Autumn was at hand, and winter approaching. Some of the men were carpenters, who had brought their tools with them from their old Switzerland home.

After the shelter was prepared, which took but a few days, the colonists all arrived, teams having been hired at Galena to convey

the women and children, provisions and other necessities; but not in sufficient numbers to carry them all. So they had to take turns in alternately riding and walking. The main body arrived on the 15th of August, the whole long journey having been made by water, except the short distance from Baltimore to Columbia, and the sixty-two miles from Galena to New Glarus. One hundred and eight persons, out of the original one hundred and ninety-three, remained, the rest having, from various causes, become discouraged and dropped off along the way. Many of these, however, in after years, rejoined their friends, and shared in the fortunes of the colony.

Many of these original colonists brought their pots, pans, kettles and other utensils all the way from the Old World, all of which did duty for a long time in the colony, in the days of its infancy, when it required all the means the people possessed, and could obtain, to supply food and clothing. About a dozen pans and kettles had to do duty for all the families; and it is related, that for some time a single broom sufficed for the whole settlement. It was, no doubt, better than the modern made article.

When the colonists arrived, there was scarcely any food on hand, as their arrival had not been so soon expected, and the necessary provision had not been made. In this emergency, the streams were largely drawn upon for food, being abundantly stocked with fish. As there were not many hooks and lines, the party was divided—some caught fish, and others bait—namely, grasshoppers. In this way a plentiful supply of fish was caught, which were cooked and eaten without seasoning, as the supply of salt had given out.

Even in later years, owing to unforeseen circumstances, the necessary food for the colonists was sometimes very short; for as late as the fall of 1850, the Rev. Wilhelm Streissguth, the first preacher, wrote that there were not fifty pounds of flour in the settlement, on account of the threshing machine having broken down, and no wheat threshed. The threshers had to go to Milwaukee, one hundred miles, for repairs, which trip could seldom be made in less than a week. Oxen were used to run the first threshing machines for several seasons. The good pastor wrote

that he frequently made his meals three times a day upon boiled potatoes alone, and with relish, for "hunger is the best of sauce."

The clannish spirit of the native valleys, in spite of the common poverty, early asserted itself in the New Glarus settlement. The inhabitable portion of Old Glarus is mainly separated into two natural divisions—the Great and Little Valleys. Each locality has some peculiarity of language and customs that differ from each other; and consequently the inhabitants of each section cherish a sort of clannish affection for their own clan-people, whether Great or Little Valleyites. This is more particularly true of the people of Little Valley, perhaps from coming less in contact with the rest of the canton and the world, because of their secluded location. About one-quarter of the original settlers of New Glarus were from Little Valley; and very soon after their arrival, began to evince their ancient spirit of clannishness, finding some cause of disagreement over often very trifling matters. This soon led to a secession, on a small scale—some twenty-five persons, including the Little Valley portion, retiring from the contracted quarters of the common hut or cabin, and erecting a separate shelter for themselves on the east side of Little Sugar River, about eighty rods from the main habitation, and close to the bridge, on the road leading east from the settlement. But in the ensuing spring, they assisted the others in building additional cabins, and rejoined the main body. Several families, however, at an early day, abandoned the colony, removing some twelve miles east, into the towns of Mount Pleasant and Sylvester, where much prosperity has attended them. The people have since become more homogeneous, and little, if any, of the old clannish feeling of distrust toward each other is seen or cherished by the younger generation.

The beginning was now made, it is true; the land was bought and the people were on it, but the immediate outlook was dismal enough. In a strange land, among strangers, ignorant of the language, manners, customs and mode of farming of the country, and bare of clothing and the necessities of life, with winter approaching, it certainly looked dark to these settlers; and if it had not been that the sum of one thousand dollars, to meet their

necessities, had arrived from the old home, and been made available, it would have gone hard with the colonists. This money was expended for food, tools, and some stock of various kinds, and for building material.

The large cabin or hut, built partly in the hill-side, answered the intended purpose of a make-shift until others could be erected. This original shelter for the colony was so contracted, that at night, and on rainy days, the inmates were crowded together like sheep in a pen. New log houses, of rude structure, were erected, some twelve to sixteen in number, so as to accommodate the several families, by putting two in each cabin. So, by Christmas the several families were distributed in their new homes, and somewhat prepared for the expected severities of the season.

The first winter was thus encountered, indifferently provided for, but fortunately it proved a very mild one. In the following spring, the land was portioned off into sixty lots of twenty acres each, and, according to the arrangement made in Switzerland, each colonist who was the head of a family, twenty-two in number, received twenty acres of tillage or meadow land, the location being determined by lot. The timber lot was, for eight or ten years, held in common, each using, under certain rules, what he required; but it was at length divided into two and a half acre lots, and apportioned among the heads of families. It was understood that the value of the land at the time of the purchase, \$1.25 per acre, should be repaid within ten years, by the colonists, without interest; and should any persons abandon their portion before payment, the next emigrant settler arriving, might make claim thereto. However, few portions were abandoned, and all were paid for before the allotted time expired. The remainder of the allotment tracts, after supplying the original emigrants, was subsequently granted to newcomers, to several single men of age, and, in some cases, to widows who claimed them.

After the division had thus been made, each colonist began to clear and break up his lot in a small way, in which labor the women rendered assistance, as most of them were accustomed to out-door work from childhood. This breaking was slow and

laborious, as teams and plows had not yet been obtained. Most of the first breaking was done with spades and shovels.

Some time during the spring of 1846, drovers from Ohio brought a lot of cows to Exeter, a mining town eight miles east of New Glarus. The colonists hearing of it, at once set out to purchase some; and, being excellent judges, soon selected the best animals of the herd in sufficient numbers to give each family one. These cost twelve dollars apiece, and were paid for out of the unexpended balance of the \$1,000 aid, before mentioned. Additional log huts were now erected in sufficient numbers, so that each family had one for its occupation. These were built close together, apart from the twenty acre apportionments, so as to form a small village. In after years, when the several lots had been increased, houses were built upon the farms, while mechanics and tradesmen occupied those in the village.

Progress toward the hoped-for independence was for some years very slow, owing in part to poverty, and yet more to ignorance in tilling the soil, and handling the crops after the fashion of this country. Generally in their old Switzer homes, no horses nor plows were used in agriculture; all spading, sowing, mowing, etc., being done by hand. The hay and other crops are carried on the backs of men and women; even manure was, and is, still carried there, in tubs made for the purpose, up to the steep mountain slopes where it was used. In fact, they were ignorant of all modes of farming, except the care of cattle, in which they excelled.

This beginning certainly looked discouraging to the people. Without money, without skill, in a strange land, and among those whose language was different from their own, it required firm determination, courage and faith to hold out. With some, it is likely that it was only the want of means to return that prevented their leaving. Most of the men, however, made up their minds to win success by unceasing efforts. They, as well as the women, sought and found work elsewhere, the men at the lead mines at Exeter, and Mineral Point, and on the farms of older settlers; the women as domestic servants, washer-women, in fact anything by which they could honestly earn something. Their earnings were scanty—about fifty cents a day being a man's wages and

even this was paid mostly in flour, meat, potatoes and other produce, which they carried home on their backs, often a distance of twenty-five miles. Money was an almost unknown commodity. In this way they managed to live until they could cultivate enough land to enable them to find work and food at home.

As the year advanced, Mr. Streiff purchased four yoke of oxen for the common use of the colony. They were used, in turn, by each family, for breaking up land, drawing wood from the timber tract, or anything else necessary to be done. After one person had used a yoke of cattle the allotted time, he turned them over to the next on the list entitled to them. The oxen are reported to have had as hard a time of it as any of the colonists—if not harder fare, and harder service.

When the colonists went into winter quarters, about the close of 1845, much to the regret of all, Nicholas Duerst, one of the pioneer adventurers and locators of the colony, returned to his native Switzerland. Mr. J. J. Tschudy was prevailed upon by the friends of the enterprise to take Mr. Duerst's place as leader and advisor to the colonists, and reached New Glarus in the autumn of 1846, and continued his residence there until 1856, securing, in a high degree, the confidence and esteem not only of his countrymen, but of all classes of people. About this time, the connection between the colony and the fatherland was, in a great measure, dissolved, the lots having all been disposed of, and paid for. Mr. Tschudy now advanced in years, resides in Monroe, highly respected for the good services he rendered the New Glarus colony in its infancy, and for his worth as a man and good citizen. The names and memories of the two Duersts, Streiff, Tschudy, Legler, P. Jenny Sr., Egger, Streissguth, Zimmerman, and Etter, will long be held in grateful remembrance by the people of New Glarus and their descendants.

From this time, 1846, onward, although the progress of the Swiss emigrants was slow, it was sure. The money earned by most of them was carefully hoarded; and as soon as enough was saved to buy a forty acre tract, it was thus promptly invested. The journey to the government land office at Mineral Point, a

distance of thirty-two miles, was often made on foot, for prior to 1850, there were few horses in the settlement.

The early unfavorable reports sent home by the discouraged ones, very naturally tended, for some years, to deter others from following; and, until 1850, their numbers were not much increased. After that time, owing to the better and nearer markets, and afterward the outbreak of the Crimean War, and the consequent rise in the price of wheat, at that time the principal product in the New Glarus settlement, a steady acquisition of emigration from Switzerland was received each year, and that mostly of a class who possessed means to buy land and stock, and make needful improvements.

At length the long toiled-for result, so anxiously hoped for, yet so long doubted and despaired of by some, was realized beyond expectation. Strong and self-reliant, the colony is not only a success, but is a standing proof of what a small amount of money, well directed and expended, may do to better the condition of the honest poor of over-crowded cities, towns and localities in the Old and New World. The money expended has long since been refunded, so that in fact the founding of this colony cost literally nothing, while the benefit to thousands has been priceless.

Owing to the fact that the cheap lands have all been taken up, and there being little disposition to sell among those possessing landed estates, immigration has now almost altogether ceased. On the other hand, many young men, far more in number than the original colonists, have gone to the fertile prairies of the West, in some instances again forming small colonies; but many have dispersed, each striking out for himself.

Many of those first comers, who had nothing but their poverty and their willing hands, are now not only in good circumstances, but wealthy. And all, without exception, of those who retained and practiced the old-time habits of industry, economy, and, above all, sobriety, are much better off than it would ever have been possible for them to have become in the country they left, to which, though dear the memory be, few would return to stay. And little need is there to return, for here the Swiss finds everything he left at home, language, people, and customs the same,

only lacking the towering snow-clad mountains, to complete the resemblance.

In sketching briefly the customs and institutions as they now exist here, it is proper that the church and religion of the colonists should be first in order. The first house of worship was built of hewn logs, in 1849, by voluntary contributions of labor and money, and was for the time a roomy and substantial structure. It was also used for school and town purposes. The village school district bought it when the present structure was erected; and when, in process of time, a new school-house was needed, it was sold to a farmer living three and a half miles east of the village, who removed it, and now occupies it as a dwelling. The present church was built of stone, in 1858, at a cost of nineteen hundred and fifty dollars in money, and five hundred and fifty days' work by the members of the congregation. It is a plain structure, with a square tower, surmounted by a dome, and provided with two bells. The first bell was bought by the Rev. Mr. Streissguth in Milwaukee, in 1852. It weighs three hundred and twenty-seven pounds, and cost one hundred and twelve dollars. The second was bought in 1859, weighing four hundred and sixty-eight pounds, and cost one hundred and seventy-two dollars and a half, of which one hundred and twenty dollars was raised by subscription.

Before the arrival of a clergyman, Mr. Tschudy conducted religious services. The first preacher was the Rev. Mr. Streissguth, now of St. Paul, Minn., who was sent to the colony in 1850, and was supported for two years at the expense of parties in Switzerland. He remained five years. He is spoken of as a man of good ability, a true Christian, and in every way worthy and charitable. He had some knowledge of medicine, which he exercised gratuitously for the relief of the sick, at a time when physicians resided at a distance, and the people were too poor to employ them. His successor was the Rev. Jno. Zimmerman, now of Burlington, Iowa, who was pastor from 1855 to 1859. He was engaged when Mr. Streissguth left, and on his recommendation. He resigned on account of disagreement with the trustees in matters of government, rules, etc. The present minister, Rev. J. T. Etter, came in 1860, and has

uninterruptedly served the congregation ever since; and during the eighteen years of his pastorate, he married one hundred and fifteen couples, christened eight hundred and sixty-one children, and attended the burial of two hundred and sixty-seven persons.

The second church belongs to the Evangelical Association; the members are few, and the manner of worship is identical with that of the Methodists. The first itinerant preachers came into the vicinity in 1847. They gained some converts in spite of the opposition, distrust and dislike with which the colonists regarded any religious innovation. In 1859, they built a large frame church, on a hill, about two miles from the village; not daring at that time to build in the village, so strong was the prejudice against them. In 1865, this feeling having considerably moderated, the church was removed into the village, and worship is held regularly without molestation or disturbance from others. They now seldom receive any accession to their numbers, which are few; but among them are some of the most worthy and substantial citizens of the colony.

The reason why the New Glarus people have so generally adhered to the faith of their fathers is, doubtless, because at an early day they organized a church with regular services after the customs of the fatherland, which, with people disposed, as these are, to venerate everything that their ancestors did, went far to strengthen their attachments to their ancient forms of worship.

Of the two churches, the Reformed church was first organized in 1849. It has a membership of one hundred and seventy heads of families, representing about six hundred persons. The men of families are alone called upon to contribute for its support; and this is done by levying a tax equally upon all, whether rich or poor, sufficient to pay expenses. The amount is determined by the annual meeting of the male members, at which all rules for the government of the congregation are made and altered; and all such meetings are almost always fully attended, great interest being taken in the proceedings. The congregation is independent of any other church or synod of the same denomination in America. Repeated efforts have been made by synods to bring

them into connection; but all attempts in that direction have encountered an independent spirit of opposition on the part of this society, which would not brook even the semblance of control.

The church is nominally in connection with the synod of Eastern Switzerland, but the relation is practically of little benefit to either party. The hymn books and catechisms are the same as those used in Switzerland, and are imported as required, none of this kind being printed or used elsewhere in this country. The liturgy is also from the same source, containing prayers which are read for each Sunday, holiday, and other occasions of worship. Prayers are always read—never made extempore in church service.

As it may be interesting to others to know how the services are conducted, the following order on Sundays, will give a proper idea: At about nine o'clock the first bell is rung, not tolled, as in many other churches; and between the first ringing and ten o'clock, the worshipers begin to come in, taking seats where they please, except that the sexes sit separately on either side of the church. At ten o'clock both bells are rung, which is the signal that the minister has started from his house, about eighty rods away; the ringing continues until he enters the building, when the people rise as he enters, and remain standing until he reads prayers, and announces the text, and also during the singing, which is led by a good choir of male voices, accompanied by an organ. After the sermon is over, prayers are again read, followed by singing, and the benediction. Then follows the singular custom of the female part of the congregation leaving the church first, the bell ringing the while, and the men standing; and not until the last skirt has passed the door, does the male part follow, led by the pastor.

The origin of this custom, according to tradition, is as follows: Some five hundred years ago, the Austrians being at war with the Swiss, attempted to surprise the town of Nafels, in Glarus; or, as other traditions have it, a battle occurred between the combatants in the neighboring canton of Grisons or Graubünden. In either case, the circumstances were the same—the people were at church—whether Sunday or holiday is not recorded; but a

woman leaving church during service, discovered the enemy, and gave the alarm; and, it is related, that the women on that day did valorous service, rolling and throwing rocks upon the enemy, and aiding, in a great measure, to gain a decisive victory over their old enemies, the Austrians. Since that time, tradition says, the right and honor are accorded to the female worshipers in all the churches of the canton of Glarus, to leave the church first, the men standing in deference while they pass out. This custom is rigidly, and without exception, kept up here, no matter what the occasion for meeting and worship.

Weddings are for the most part solemnized by the ministers; seldom by a justice of the peace. Tuesdays and Thursdays are the only days on which a Swiss will be married; the latter is the favorite day. The other days of the week are not regarded as fortunate; Wednesday is especially considered the most unlucky. Persons about to enter matrimony, some time before the ceremony takes place, go together to the house of those whom they wish to invite as guests to the wedding, and verbally request their presence. Wedding feasts are of late mostly arranged at a hotel; but formerly at the home of the groom or bride. After being pronounced man and wife, at the church or in the minister's house, the couple, with the invited guests, partake of the wedding dinner, after which dancing is indulged in till a late hour. Before and after the marriage ceremony, the lads and young men salute the bridal party with a profuse discharge of fire-arms. The more noise, the greater the honor. Very rarely do the Swiss here intermarry with people of other nationalities; almost without exception, they marry among their own country folk.

The baptism of infants is another occasion for a feast. Children are usually christened when less than three months old; and the ceremony takes place in the church, except in a few instances, a god-father and god-mother invariably witnessing the baptism at the altar. According to church rules, parents are not permitted to act as sponsors. If parents are church members, no fee is required for weddings, baptisms or funeral services; otherwise a fee is collected, which is paid into the church fund, and not as a perquisite to the preacher, as in other societies.

When a person dies, the relatives, friends and countrymen are notified by messengers of the time of death and burial; and the accompanying of the dead to their last resting place is a duty which is faithfully fulfilled, over one hundred and fifty teams being often seen at a funeral. The church bells are made to do duty on all of these occasions. A couple of bell-tolls give notice to the sponsors that the minister is at the altar, ready to proceed with the baptism. On account of the baptism being always performed at the close of the regular services, the god-mother and child remain in some convenient dwelling near the church, until summoned by the bell. This is so arranged that the congregation may not be disturbed by any fretfulness on the part of the infant, to whom no doubt the services would often become as tedious as they sometimes do to older children, not only in this, but in numerous other churches.

At weddings they ring a merry peal; and at funerals the bells are tolled until the coffin is lowered into the grave. They are also rung twice each day, as is the custom in Switzerland, at 11 A. M., and at dusk every evening, for five minutes each time; and at midnight of the 31st December they are rung a whole hour, to welcome in the New Year.

Kilbi, as it is termed here—a corruption of *Kirchweih*, or church hallowing—is the holiday of all days. The Fourth of July is celebrated with American fervor; but Kilbi is a blending of all holidays into one. This day occurs on the last Sunday of September of each year; and, as its name denotes, is strictly a religious festival, being the anniversary of the dedication of the church. On that day the pastor, at the close of the services, dedicates the building anew; and this is as far as religious observances are kept. In the afternoon, target-shooting, and dancing, are moderately indulged in; but Monday is the great day. Strangers come from a distance, and neighbors and friends meet, and renew friendships, over loaded tables and foaming glasses. The youth, and, in fact, almost everybody, repair to the village; and music and dancing begin about noon, and are kept up until next morning, at three or more different halls, and all are crowded. In spite of the crowd, and the quantities of beer and wine drank—

But stronger drinks are scarce, and consequently so are quarrels—the best of humor and hilarity prevail.

The way these dances are managed is a novelty to Americans. Usually there is a committee of three managers at each dancing-place, whose business it is to provide the music, keep order, collect the entrance fee from the male dancers; and, above all, supply them with female partners. For this purpose, the best looking manager is sent with a gay and ribbon-bedecked team, to all places where it is known young ladies live, and politely invite them to take seats in his carriage; and, unless there is a prior engagement, the lasses are always ready to comply. When his carriage is full, he drives to the hall at which he is a manager, unloads, and again sallies forth in another direction until a sufficiency of partners is secured, or the supply of lasses exhausted. His fellow managers in the meanwhile keep order, arrange the couples, and direct things generally, for the enjoyment and comfort of all.

A good time is had at the homes, as well; the best that can be afforded is cooked and eaten; and among all the cakes and dishes of every kind, honey is accorded a prominent place. Few there are who do not eat bread and butter and honey on Kilbi. The general good time extends into Tuesday, sometimes, but usually Monday night closes the feast, which not only is kept up by the Swiss, but by American youth from a distance, who have learned to share in the celebration.

The earliest attempt at English education was made under difficulties. The first district school was taught in 1847, by a Mr. Cowan*—only a short term—in a small log house belonging to Balthasar Schindler. The next school was kept in the house of Matthias Schmidt, in 1848, by a certain Mr. Jas. Kilroy, an Irishman, who, as report says, walloped learning into the youth well. But conceive the circumstances: A small log house, a family of nine persons, an Irish pedagogue and about twenty Swiss scholars, all in one room, and not very large at that. Many are still living in this vicinity who belonged to that primitive school; and the log

* About the time, or since, this was written, Mr. Cowan died in the Green County poorhouse.

house, the scene of these early pedagogic exhibitions, is still standing.

A school-house was built in 1849 in the village, and Peter Jenny was teacher for some six years. Afterwards J. C. Zimmerman taught three years; and since, with few intermissions, Matthias Steussy has taught the district school in the village for the last eighteen years. All these teachers were Swiss. The outlying districts in the township are taught as is usual by different persons almost every term. Several young men of Swiss descent, have qualified themselves for teaching at academies elsewhere; but no "school-marm" has New Glarus ever produced. The reason for this is not apparent, unless it be the general belief here entertained, that much education for a girl will spoil her for a house-wife. A knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic, is considered sufficient for women. A girl is early taught the mysteries of cooking, washing and sewing; and her education is not considered complete unless she also understands milking, making butter and cheese, and binding grain in the harvest field. In consequence of the active out-door labor, which in addition to their household duties, the females perform, they are in general more healthy, robust and fit to fight the battle of life that awaits all, than are their American sisters who seldom allow the summer sun to shine upon their unprotected hands and faces, and who as a rule, are hardly allowed the needful exercise which health demands. Weak nerves and hysterics are often the rule with the latter, while with the former they are unknown.

The German schools in the village have been fully as ably conducted as the English. First, a Mr. Ernst and Mr. Tschudy, and then the Rev. Mr. Streissguth, and subsequently Rev. Mr. Zimmerman, taught the German school; and, in addition to the ordinary branches of study, included such religious instruction as the rules of the church required. In 1867, Mr. F. Knobel, a teacher from the canton of Glarus, settled here, and has taught German uninterruptedly since his arrival. Christian Luchsinger has taught a German evening school for those who, more advanced in years, and employed in labor, could not attend in day time. German school books were first brought from the old country;

but the supply giving out, American printed books were adopted. The desire for education is universal; and, as a whole, the people of New Glarus compare favorably in learning with other rural sections of the country.

The political partialities of the people are largely with the Democratic party, two-thirds usually voting that way; and it is another instance of the conservatism of these Swiss settlers that they have adhered, through all changes, to the political creed they first embraced when they settled here. For a man to change his political belief is quite as rare as to change his religion. Among the younger generation, the leaning is toward the Republican party; but members of both parties have almost unanimously supported at the polls, deserving persons who were well known to them, without regard to party affiliations.

Politicians are few; politics being a subject not so much discussed as among Americans. Elections are always conducted quietly, with but little of the jobbing and pettifogging usual at some places. J. J. Tschudy was the first Swiss elected to a county office in Green County. He served as recorder, then register, and afterward served four terms as county clerk. Matthias Marty was county clerk while Mr. Tschudy was register. John Luchsinger has, for the fourth time, been elected to represent the north district of Green County in the legislature, and was the first person of Swiss birth sent to the legislature from Green County, and has served longer than any other representative from that county.

No lawyers have ever found any encouragement to locate in the settlement. The few cases where their aid has been required were managed by the Monroe attorneys. There has been little need of the profession, as the people are too busy and economical to think of litigation.

Mr. Tschudy was the first to render assistance to the sick, having some knowledge of medicine, and being provided with a stock of medicines from his father, an experienced physician in Old Glarus. Rev. Mr. Streissguth afterwards administered medical aid to the settlers. A person by the name of Bonjour, a French-Swiss, dispensed drugs; but, in 1853, he was displaced by Dr.

Samuel Blumer, a good physician, who arrived from Glarus. He remained here until 1866, when he removed to Iowa. His son, J. J. Blumer, M. D., who received his medical education at the University of Pennsylvania, is now located here, and is justly considered an excellent physician.

There is a fine glee club organized, which contains some good voices, and is, as well as the church choir, under the direction of Mr. F. Knobel, the German teacher. The songs and ballads of Switzerland are sung with the same pathos and feeling here as there, and seldom any others. A rifle club, consisting of about twenty members, is active in drill, and numbers many excellent shots, who have won prizes at the annual competitions in this and other states. There are no secret societies whatever, and, as far as known, no member of any in this settlement.

When the Civil War broke out, the Swiss in New Glarus and vicinity furnished their full proportion of volunteers—according to the best authority about ninety-eight boys in blue, who did not dishonor the memory of their sires who fought at St. Jacob, Nafels, Morgarten, and other well-fought fields in the fatherland.

The people are very conservative in most things, especially in their adherence to the customs and usages of their ancestors, and in their language, religion, and politics. It is illustrated by the fact that the same pastor has preached, and the same school-master taught, for eighteen successive years. There has been scarcely any perceptible change or diminution in the hearty, homely manners of the New Glarus people and their descendants; nor in their disposition to work, to economize, and achieve independence in all things. Even Dame Fashion has been able to make but small inroads among the fair sex; a basque, pin-back, overskirt, or any other fashionable contrivance, is looked upon as a snare and an abomination by the elderly women; but their daughters trespass somewhat in a mild way, in that direction. And happily the barbarous fashion of banged hair has not yet appeared. Should any girl thus attempt to disfigure herself, there would, without doubt, be banging enough from the unfashionable *Mater Familias*.

Attachment to the fatherland is strong and sincere. From time

to time fully thirty persons, who have gathered a competency here, have returned to Switzerland—some having been twice and even three times; but not to exceed half a dozen have returned to remain. The large farms, grand distances, and enlarged thought of this country tend to give larger views to both sight and mind; so that, it is said, everything in the old country appears close and contracted by comparison; and, as some have expressed it, that there seemed to be hardly room to breathe there. Still the love for the “old home,” as it is still affectionately termed by all, is undying; and few who were adults when they came here but cherish the wish and hope to behold their loved native mountains once more before they go hence to the undiscovered country.

How long this reverential feeling will continue, will depend upon circumstances; but it would seem, from past experience in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York, where many whose ancestors migrated two hundred years ago, still speak only German, that unless the iron horse finds his way to these hills and valleys, it is more than likely that a hundred years hence will make little change in the language and customs of the New Glarus people. With all this adherence to what is ancient, and aversion to mixing, and intermarrying with, those of other nationalities, those who read—and few do not—are well informed, and quick to comprehend whatever is of advantage to themselves, and of general interest. From being almost entirely ignorant of the modes of American farming, they are now considered the equals of the best farmers in the country, taking advantage of, and purchasing, the best labor-saving machinery, and in enterprise and endurance are scarcely equalled by any.

In public spirit they are not lacking. In addition to the fine district school-house, there has also been built another in which German is taught. In 1870, when a railroad was projected in the vicinity, the township promptly voted twenty thousand dollars to aid in building it, besides one hundred dollars in cash to assist in defraying the expense of surveying. As yet there is no prospect of the road being built. In 1861, news was received that the town of Glarus, Switzerland, was almost destroyed by fire. In a short time, the sum of twelve hundred and fifty dollars was con-

tributed, and sent there for distribution among the suffering people.

In 1850 the parsonage was built of hewn logs and framed. It was then considered the finest house in the village. It is still the parsonage, but it is sadly the worse for wear; and we may safely conclude, that in the onward march of improvement, it will soon be supplanted by a much better one.

In 1852 the scarlet fever raged in the colony, and in a short time seventeen children died. In 1854 a newcomer arrived via Freeport, Ill., who was infected with the cholera; and the disease spread, and proved a very sad scourge, no less than twenty-two persons, adults, dying in a short time from its ravages.

The town of New Glarus was organized in April, 1850; prior to which, the settlement had been generally known as *the Swiss Colony*; but to those in Switzerland as New Glarus. The territory comprising it had been hitherto attached, for all civil purposes, to the adjoining town of York. The village of New Glarus was laid out and platted, in 1851, by Mr. Spangler, of Monroe. During the year, the first framed house was erected by Ott Bros., since of Madison, who opened the first store; and the same year Mr. Joshua Wild built a sawmill with an under-shot wheel. The first hotel was erected by Baumgartner Brothers in 1853. In 1862, David Klaessy built a grist-mill, with two run of stones, propelled by water power; and with this mill was probably connected the first barley hulling machine in Wisconsin. The demand warranted the outlay, as hulled barley soup is a favorite dish among the New Glarus people. In 1867, a brewery was built by Dr. Blumer & Co.; and beer has been brewed since, supplying the settlement, which formerly received its national beverage from Madison and Monroe.

Swiss cheese was made by many farmers as early as 1854, and much of an excellent quality was sold; but dairy cheese-making has given way to the factory system. The first cheese-factory was established in 1870; and since then eight others, large and small, have gone into operation. Three-fourths of the cheese made is Limburger, and is said to pay the makers better than any other variety. The number of cows whose milk is brought to

these factories is about 2,500; and fully 600,000 pounds of cheese are now made in a season in the township of New Glarus alone. It is a branch of farming that, on these rolling lands, assures the farmer a steady income. There are no fortunes made quickly by it, but it gives a surer return for labor than any other branch of farming industry, and is a direct benefit to the soil, more land being in grass, and better manured than with grain culture.

The factories are built by the farmers, and leased to cheese-makers, who buy the milk at a fixed price, thus differing from many other places, where the farmers hire the cheese-maker, and divide the net proceeds. Some Swiss cheese is still made here, but not to compare with former years in quantity. Of the cheese product, the most was formerly shipped to Milwaukee, Chicago, and St. Louis; but of late, cheese has been sent to Great Britain, and, incredible as it may seem, some even to Switzerland, that land of cheese.

In the year 1849, the stock in the colony, according to the report of the Rev. Mr. Streissguth, consisted of one horse; one bull; forty-one oxen; forty-nine cows; forty heifers and steers two years old; fifty-one calves; fifteen sheep; and four hundred and eighty-two hogs. The crop of that year was sixty-five bushels of oats, five hundred and forty-five of corn, and four hundred and ninety-five of potatoes—the product of one hundred and four acres of cultivated land. The population was then rated at one hundred and twenty-five.

Bilten is the name of a branch of this colony, in the adjoining town of Washington, and was founded in 1847 by the authorities of the parish of Bilten, in Glarus, Switzerland. In that year sufficient funds were sent to Mr. Fridolin Streiff, one of the pioneers of New Glarus, to purchase seventeen forty acre tracts; and in the same year twelve families, mostly from the above named parish, settled thereon. The Bilten settlement has shared with the main colony in reputation for thrift and industry; and the people, as a class, are doing well. They have by purchase extended the original boundaries, which were about five miles from New Glarus, so that now the two settlements have blended into one, with no intervening settlers of other nationalities.

The pastors of New Glarus formerly held divine service in Bilten once in four weeks; but for some years this has been discontinued, and those who do not come to New Glarus for worship, have themselves built a handsome church, at which preachers from Monroe officiate. The chief branch of farming in this settlement is also the making of cheese, for which the land is well adapted, being rolling, and well watered by brooks and springs; and it now comprises about one-half of the township, being the northern and rougher portion.

Thus, from feeble beginnings, has the New Glarus colony, with its adjacent Swiss settlements, expanded from something over a hundred poverty-stricken people, to fully four thousand in numbers; and from twelve hundred and eighty acres of wild, uncultivated land, to over sixty thousand acres, transformed into comfortable homes, with all the conveniences, and many of the luxuries, of life. With comfortable residences and barns, churches and school-houses, fruitful orchards, well-cultured fields of golden grain, well-filled granaries, with herds on many a hill-side, horses and carriages, and pianos and melodeons scattered here and there through the settlement, the people of New Glarus and their descendents have abundant cause to thank God for the success of the past, and put their trust in him for the future.

December, 1878.

Additional Notes on New Glarus

By J. Jacob Tschudy

The colony of New Glarus was founded by an association of several political communities of the canton of Glarus, in Switzerland, who organized themselves into a society under the sanction of the government of the canton, in the year 1844; and had the following aims or purposes in view for the benefit of the overcrowded population of that small and mountainous canton, which are copied from the records:

1. The emigration shall be executed in common, and directed to one of the States in the northwestern portion of the United States. The idea is to found a community similar to that of the canton of Glarus. The States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri shall be first explored in seeking for a suitable locality for the colony.

2. In the course of 1844, two agents shall be sent to visit those States for the purpose of selecting a tract of land large enough for the experiment, and to arrange the necessary steps to execute the plan in view. These agents shall have the necessary instructions for their work, and be fully empowered to carry the design into execution.

3. Every family willing to emigrate shall receive twenty acres of land; the money to pay for the land shall be advanced by the Association. All the expenses of the voyage or emigration must be provided for by the emigrants themselves.

4. The expenses of the agents the Association agrees to pay.

5. The several communities are invited to ratify these resolutions, and thereby become members in fact of the Association.

These resolutions were ratified by the several communities, and by the government of the canton, who also donated a large part

of the expenses of the agents, say about six hundred dollars. A committee was appointed who drew up the regulations for the rule of the Association, which were accepted and ratified; and in the persons of Messrs. Nicholas Duerst and Fridolin Streiff, were found and selected the agents for the important trust. They departed for their far-away field of responsible labor the 8th day of March, 1845; and, after a stormy and disagreeable voyage, landed on the shores of the New World, where they were directed to consult a commercial house in New York, and an old countryman, Mr. Blumer, in Allentown, Pa., who would assist them with counsel and every needful help. Mr. Blumer secured Mr. Joshua Fry, a man able to speak English, to accompany the agents to the far West, and to aid them in carrying out their instructions, which were as follows:

1. The agents will journey from Switzerland, *via* Havre, to New York.

2. They will find an amount of money (about \$2,500) deposited with a house in New York, sufficient to buy a certain quantity of land for the emigrants, according to the respective shares to which they will be entitled.

3. This money they will not draw before they have selected and bought the land, or are ready to buy; and shall be guided in this matter by the counsel or advice of Mr. Blumer, of Allentown.

4. As soon as they arrive in New York, the agents will proceed to the said Mr. Blumer, and ask him either to accompany them, or aid them with his knowledge of the relative advantages of the country in the Northwest.

5. In regard to the purchase of the lands, the agents will consider the climate and the nature of the soil, which ought to be as near as possible similar to those in the old country, and suitable for the production of grain and cattle.

6. The agents are not positively bound to purchase government land; but they shall, if possible, try to secure enough that each colonist may have twenty acres, for the amount of money, \$1.25 per acre, which is the price of government land.

7. The agents shall try to buy all the land in one tract, well

situated in regard to communications with the rest of the State, by means of roads, etc.

8. After the purchase, the land shall be divided in timber, bottom and field land, so as to make as just a partition as possible.

9. The agents will take charge of the emigrants from St. Louis, where they will wait for them; and when they arrive on the land, the lots shall be equitably distributed to each family.

10. The agents will also have the oversight of the families on their first arrival in the colony; but the emigrants must defray their own expenses.

11. In all important matters, the agents must consult, besides Mr. Blumer, the heads of the commercial house in New York, from which they draw the money.

12. It will be necessary to provide for the breaking up of some land to raise produce for man and beast, for which the agents shall make provision.

13. The purchase of the land shall be made in the name of the "Emigration Society of the Canton of Glarus." Mr. Duerst will have a plat made of the lands, divided into lots, and numbered, with the names of the owners. The head of every family will draw his lot of twenty acres, and be the exclusive owner. The price thereof, as well as advances made afterwards, must be repaid within ten years, without interest. Mr. Streiff will keep a copy of said plat, and all the papers; also keep an accurate record of the names of all owners, their increase or decrease, etc.

14. The agents will do their utmost to provide, as soon as possible, for the establishment of a church and school, and for the relief of the poor of the colony.

15. When the agents think that they have executed these instructions according to the best of their ability, Mr. Duerst will promptly return to his fatherland.

16. Mr. Streiff will remain with the colonists, and report to the Association concerning everything of interest from time to time; he will also keep accounts of all expenses, etc.

17. Mr. Duerst shall receive for his services one dollar per day till his return, with all expenses. Mr. Streiff shall have his personal expenses paid from his departure from home until Mr.

Duerst returns to Switzerland; after which he shall receive such remuneration for his services as the Executive Committee of the Association shall consider just and proper.

When the people arrived on the land, in August, 1845, wholly destitute of money, and unable to live through the approaching winter without help, the agents drew on the Association, which honored the draft, to the amount of \$1,000, which was used to make advances to the families in provisions, cattle, tools, seed, etc. This money had to be refunded, with the price of the lots, within ten years from the foundation of the colony. In 1855, all these debts were fully paid and cancelled, and deeds issued by the Association to each owner. Messrs. Fridolin Streiff and Fridolin Egger were at that time the agents representing the Association, with full authority to settle with every colonist. The last papers were issued, if I am not mistaken, in 1856; and from that time the so-called colony was perfectly independent of the parent Association, although there existed, and yet exists, only the kindest remembrances and relations.

In the fall of 1846, a successor to Mr. Duerst, and assistant to Mr. Streiff, was sent from the old country by the Association, in the person of J. J. Tschudy, who arrived at New Glarus in October, when he at once proceeded to collect some statistics in relation to the financial and agricultural progress of the colony up to that time. On a visit made to every cabin, he found that, although some families were suffering from sickness, and had yet only poor accommodations, still, in general, there was a steady improvement, a hopeful out-look for the future, and reasonable contentment with the new home and the progress thus far made. The winter of 1846-47, was a hard one. From January till the spring of 1847, men and beasts suffered much from exposure in the rough, unfinished huts and stables, and with scarcity of fodder for the cattle. Still, spring found all well, and ready to go to work with a will, and new courage, to break land, plant and improve according to their best ability. They were, however, often hindered and retarded for want of teams, tools, and other necessities, which were provided, as far as possible, by advances from the Association.

As information was sent by the parent Association that more emigrants would be sent in the spring of 1847, the agents bought, by instructions given them, another tract of land in the adjoining town of Washington, on the south, which was also divided into twenty acre lots, and distributed among the newcomers in that year. But this second colony never kept together so exclusively as did the men of New Glarus, who named the whole township after their old country home, together with the village therein. The settlers of New Glarus founded their own church—the Reformed church—according to the rites and usages of the old country; and had their German school from the beginning, as well as an English one.

In 1853, the first celebration of the 4th of July, was held by a few of the colonists, associating with it the vivid remembrance of a day of festival kept in their fatherland—very similar to the American holiday; and, from that time, Independance day has been celebrated every year more or less in the village by all the people, old and young. A number of the primitive settlers have gone to their everlasting rest; but those remaining may be seen on these festive occasions, taking part in the celebration of the fourth of July, which serves to remind them of their native land, and of the battle day which delivered their ancestors from the tyranny of their oppressors on the 9th of April, 1388, when eight hundred men of Glarus defeated several thousand Austrians.

I now append the statistics of the colony as I took them on my arrival in the autumn of 1846: Land broken for tillage one hundred and nine acres, which I think was done well under the circumstances, oxen and plows being owned in common, and had necessarily to be used in rotation, making it often rather difficult to keep the work all going on in peace and harmony. Up to November 20th, 1846, there were two births and seven deaths in the settlement. On the 19th of November, in that year, Mr. Streiff brought the first sheep to New Glarus. Lot No. 13 was selected as the village plat, and had thirteen cabins at the time. There were then twenty cabins in the whole colony. Poultry was largely kept, but no enumeration of the number was taken. Garden produce of various kinds was planted on all lots cultivated, and gave very rich returns.

There were at that time in the colony of New Glarus one hundred and twenty-nine persons, men, women, and children; and the number of twenty acre lots taken, and partly improved, twenty-nine. One settler had two horses, while another was the owner of a bull; four yoke of working oxen were held in common by the whole settlement; eighteen cows were held separately, fifteen heifers, twenty-five calves, and one hundred and ninety-nine hogs. Their first harvest, that of 1846, yielded the settlers seven hundred bushels of corn, and enough potatoes for the use of the colony. All things considered, this was a good showing for the first year's operations, and all seemed satisfied with the results, trusting in the good providence of God that still better days were yet in store for them. Nor were their hopes disappointed.

MONROE, WIS., June, 1879.

Wisconsin Necrology, 1876-78

By Lyman C. Draper

A continuance of the death-roll of prominent Wisconsin persons, for the years 1876-78, with passing notices of their career, is here presented for record.

1876

Hon. Albert M. Skeels died at Ripon, January 5th, in his sixty-third year. He was born at Swanton, Vermont, February 27th, 1813, and removed to Ripon in 1853. He was for some seven years postmaster at that place; and in 1865 and 1866, he served as a representative in the legislature, taking rank among the ablest members of that body. He also served as a commissioner and trustee of the State Insane Asylum near Oshkosh; and filled the position of President of the Ripon Agricultural Association, and the same position in the Northern Wisconsin Agricultural Society.

John Lewis, of Baraboo, was accidentally run over and killed by a railroad train, near that place, January 11th. He was about fifty-five years of age, and was formerly from Ohio, where he had held several offices of honor and trust, among them a seat in the legislature. He at one time served as city treasurer of Madison.

Hon. Jacob Spaulding died of apoplexy at Worcester, Chippewa County, January 23rd, aged sixty-five years. He was born in the State of New York in 1810, and settled on Black River, Wisconsin, as early as 1839. He had at first to obtain his necessary supplies from Prairie du Chien, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles. He was the founder of the village of Black River Falls, and became a prominent man in that valley. So great was the confidence of the Winnebago Indians in him, that they

frequently prevailed on him to repair to Washington in their behalf—he was emphatically *the Indians' friend*. His death was hastened by over-taxing his strength in making such a visit for his Winnebago friends, from which he had been but a few days returned.

Hon. James B. Cross died in Milwaukee, February 3d, in his fifty-seventh year. He was born in Phelps, Ontario County, N. Y., December 17th, 1819; received an academic education, studied law, and removed to Milwaukee in May, 1841. He was elected, in 1846, a justice of the peace; in the spring of 1848, judge of probate; and in the fall of that year, and again the succeeding year, he was chosen a member of the legislature. In the spring of 1850, he was elected city attorney; and in 1854, he was a third time returned to the legislature. In 1855, and the two following years, he was chosen mayor of Milwaukee; and in the fall of 1857, he lacked only 118 votes of being elected governor of the State. He was for five years president of the Juneau Bank, and served awhile as clerk of the probate court. He presented a fine personal appearance, and possessed many of the elements of popularity. "In his death," says the *State Journal*, "Milwaukee loses one of its early pioneers, and one who possessed the ability, grace and eloquence to adorn any position in life."

George Fulton, an old resident of the Sugar River Valley, and native of the county of Derry, Ireland, died in Madison, February 6th, aged sixty-eight years. He was known as a writer and poet of some note.

Dr. S. Compton Smith died at his residence in Greenfield, near Milwaukee, Feb. 22d, in the sixty-second year of his age. He was born in Bristol, R. I., Nov. 15th, 1814; but early removed, with his widowed mother, to Ellisburgh, Jefferson County, N. Y., studying at Belleville Academy, where he laid the foundation for the broad culture which afterwards distinguished him. He early began the study of medicine, graduating at the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons, enjoying the instruction of the famous Dr. Valentine Mott. He went to the island of Cuba, where he practiced three years, and subsequently in Ohio and in the South. During the Mexican War, he served as a surgeon in

Gen. Taylor's army, and was present at the battle of Buena Vista. He was, at one time, severely wounded, and nearly killed by a party of Mexican guerillas. After the war, he settled first at Port Washington, and then in Milwaukee, and afterwards in Greenfield. When the Civil War broke out, he again entered the service as a surgeon, connected with various military organizations, and hospitals, and was with Sherman's march to the sea until the battle of Goldsboro, when he was honorably discharged.

Dr. Smith for many years devoted himself to literary pursuits. He wrote an interesting volume, *Chile Con Carne*, or *The Camp and the Field*, illustrative of scenes and events of the Mexican War. During the Civil War, he wrote a series of letters to the *Milwaukee Sentinel* and the *Evening Wisconsin*, detailing graphic scenes and incidents of which he was a witness; and subsequently was long a regular contributor to the *New York Ledger*, furnishing over two hundred sketches, and was on the editorial staff of the *Milwaukee Monthly Magazine*. He wielded a ready and graceful pen, and was a most genial and interesting man.

Hon. Thomas B. Stoddard, died at La Crosse, where he had long resided, February 24th, at the age of seventy-five years. He came west in 1850, and settled in La Crosse the following year, and from the first took a deep interest in everything pertaining to its welfare. He was chosen the first mayor of the young city, and was the first president of the Southern Minnesota Railroad, of which he was the chief projector, and continued a director till his death. He represented La Crosse County in the assembly in 1862, and was the Democratic candidate in that district for Congress in the fall of that year.

Sidney Foote, of Madison, died at Jacksonville, Florida, whither he had gone for his health, March 8th, in his forty-sixth year. He was a native of Smyrna, N. Y., and in 1852 became a student of the Wisconsin University, graduating in 1856; studied and engaged in the practice of law at Madison; was register of bankruptcy for nine years, and district attorney in 1873-74.

Col. Samuel Ryan died at Menasha, April 12th, at the venerable age of nearly eighty-seven years. He was born in Tipperary County, Ireland, May 12th, 1789; he was early impressed into

the British naval service, and then in the army. During the War of 1812, he saw some hard service, being severely wounded. He was, on one occasion, shipwrecked when eighteen vessels went down with nearly all on board on a single night, suffering all the horrors short of death incident to such a catastrophe. Escaping from his British oppressors, he joined the American army in time to bear an honorable part against those who had enslaved him. Re-enlisting in the United States service, he came west; and at length, in 1826, to Green Bay. During the Black Hawk War he forwarded stores and supplies to the troops at Fort Winnebago; and subsequently took part in several Indian treaties. When Wisconsin Territory was organized, he was commissioned first, a lieutenant colonel, and then a full colonel, of the militia. From 1848 to 1861, he acted as receiver of the United States land office, first at Green Bay and then at Menasha. He was a good soldier, and an honest man.

Hon. Henry Merrell, who died at Portage, May 6th, in his seventy-second year, was born in Utica, N. Y., August 7th, 1804. He came to Fort Winnebago in 1834, was postmaster there twelve years, and State senator in 1848-49. His career and character are fittingly noticed in the seventh volume of the Society's *Collections*, in connection with his interesting paper on "Pioneer Life in Wisconsin."

Hon. Charles A. Weisbrod, a prominent lawyer, died at Oshkosh, on the 21st of May. He was born in Prussia in 1822, and received a liberal education, graduating at Berlin University. He first engaged in civil engineering for several years. Settling at Oshkosh in 1849, he filled many public positions; and was serving as one of the Normal School regents at the time of his death.

Hon. Robert C. Field died at Mondovi, Buffalo County, of apoplexy, June 16th, at the age of seventy-two years. He was born at Cairo, Green County, N. Y., May 6, 1804, and received a common school education. He settled in Richland County, Wisconsin, 1849, removing to Trempealeau in 1859. He represented Green County, N. Y., in the assembly of that State in 1843; and Richland County, in the Wisconsin legislature in 1856, and

the Trempealeau district in the senate in 1874-75, making a very influential member.

Hon. Jonas Folts, died at Hebron, on the 24th of June, aged sixty-eight years. He emigrated from Herkimer County, N. Y., in 1835, to Milwaukee, and finally to Hebron in 1842. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1847-48, and a member of the assembly in 1868. He served his town as chairman of the board, and town clerk for many years.

Daniel W. Ballou died at Watertown, July 27th, at the age of fifty-two years. He was born in Richmond, Vt., July 22d, 1824; and when about five years of age, his father removed to Lockport, N. Y., where young Ballou received a common school education, and served a five years' apprenticeship in a printing office, when he attended three terms at the Lima Seminary. He afterwards assisted Orsamus Turner in the preparation of his *History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York*, during 1849-50; and conducted the *Niagara Democrat* for four years. In 1852, he became assistant editor of the *Green Bay Advocate*, while its editor, Hon. C. D. Robinson, was secretary of state; and in 1854, established the *Watertown Democrat*, which he conducted until shortly before his death. He was at one time president of the Wisconsin Editorial Association. He was one of the best writers in the State, never descending to the use of slang and personalities in the columns of his paper. He had long designed writing a *History of the Great Lakes of the West*, embracing their numerous historical associations.

Capt. August Bartsch, of Madison, died at Denver City, Aug. 17th, where he had gone for his health, in his thirty-sixth year. He was born in Germany in 1840, removing to Wisconsin while yet a youth. He served in the Civil War, rising from a private to a lieutenant, and then a captain; and participated in the battle of Gettysburg, where he was wounded; and afterwards served under Gen. Sherman, until he was taken prisoner. He was captain of the Governor's Guard, at Madison, and a prominent member of several societies.

Col. Alexander P. Field, attorney-general of Louisiana, died at New Orleans, August 19th, some seventy-five years of age.

He was a native of Kentucky, but early removing to Illinois, became secretary of state during Governor Reynolds' administration, 1830-34; and served as an aid to General Henry in the Black Hawk War. He was appointed in 1841, by President Harrison, secretary of the Wisconsin Territory; but shortly after resigned his position, and settled in St. Louis in the practice of law, taking high rank in his profession. He removed to New Orleans in 1856. In 1864, he was a claimant for a seat in Congress, which was not accorded him; and in 1872, he was chosen attorney-general of Louisiana on the Republican ticket. He re-visited Wisconsin about a year before his death.

Col. William H. Hamilton, of Sun Prairie, died at Denver, Colorado, August 31st, whither he had gone for his health. He entered the service during the Civil War as a private, and subsequently raised a company for the Thirty-Sixth Wisconsin, of which he was made captain. At the battle of Deep Bottom, in front of Petersburg, he received a ball, August 14th, 1864, which lodged in the bones of his nose, and for a long time it could not be found. He rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1869, he was sergeant-at-arms of the State senate; and was subsequently station agent of the railroad at Sun Prairie. His wound never fully healed, and finally caused his death.

Rev. Thomas Bright was stricken down in the pulpit of the Baptist Church, Madison, Sunday, September 10th, and died on the evening of that day. He was born at Walton, England, November 8, 1810; and while a youth was brought to this country. He commenced his ministerial labors in 1840; and, in 1852, removed to Wisconsin, serving as pastor at Elkhorn, Walworth, Spring Prairie, Geneva, and Fox Lake. In 1874, he became connected with the Baptist Church at Madison.

Hon. Perry G. Harrington, died in Sugar Creek, Walworth County, September 18th, sixty-four years of age. He was born in Otsego County, New York, in 1812; and removed to Milwaukee in May, 1836, and to Sugar Creek the following year. He was a member of the county board from 1846 to 1851, and a member of assembly in 1854.

Hon. W. H. Thomas, died at Osso, Trempealeau County, Octo-

ber 2d, at the age of forty-seven years. He settled there in 1854, and represented his district in the assembly in 1866.

William T. Hutchinson died at Neillsville, Clark County, October 4th, in his thirty-eighth year. For a number of years he had filled the office of register of deeds of Clark County, and was county treasurer at the time of his death.

Gen. Rufus King died of pneumonia in New York City, October 13th, in his sixty-second year. He was born in that city January 26th, 1814. He graduated at West Point Military Academy in 1833, and entered the army, from which he resigned in 1836. He then engaged on railroad surveys; and served as adjutant-general of New York, 1839-43; associate editor of the *Albany Evening Journal*, 1841-45; and editor of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 1845-61; member of the Wisconsin constitutional convention, 1847-48; colonel of the militia, regent of the State University, visitor to West Point Military Academy, superintendent of public schools of Milwaukee, 1859-61; and U. S. minister to Italy holding the appointment from March to August, 1861, which he relinquished to enter the military service. He was, in May, 1861, appointed brigadier-general of Wisconsin Volunteers, and shortly after to the same rank in the United States Volunteers, serving in the defenses of Washington, commanding a division at Fredericksburg, Groveton, Manassas, Yorktown and Fairfax, serving until 1863, when from ill health he resigned, and was re-appointed minister to Rome, where he remained till 1867. In his latter years, he suffered from impaired health.

Mrs. Polly Wheeler died at Lima, Rock County, November 4th, aged one hundred and one years and three days. She was born at Southwick, Mass., November 1st, 1775, removing with her husband, Hiezekiah Wheeler, first to Western New York, thence to Green County, Wisconsin, about 1844. Her memory was unimpaired to the last.

Wm. P. St. John died in Portage, November 22d, at the age of sixty-five years. He was born in Madison County, N. Y., September 12th, 1809, and was bred a wheel-wright. He labored efficiently in the temperance cause, and left a bequest of one thousand dollars each for Wayland and Lawrence universities, and smaller amounts to several other societies and institutions.

Hon. Willard Isham died at Delavan, November 26th, aged fifty-six years. He was born in Smyrna, Chenango County, N. Y., March 24th, 1820. He settled in Delavan in 1845, was a member of the legislature in 1855, and was for many years one of the trustees for the Wisconsin Institute for the Deaf and Dumb.

Jacob Nunnemacher died in Lake, near Milwaukee, November 28th, at the age of fifty-seven years. A native of Berne, Switzerland, he came to this country in 1842, settling in Milwaukee, where, by his investments and enterprises, he became very wealthy erecting the Grand Opera House and other stately blocks.

Dr. J. H. Lee, of Franklin, Vernon County, died of apoplexy at the State Insane Asylum, near Madison, December 1st, at about the age of fifty years. He was a native of Vermont and had spent many years in lecturing on phrenology. Seized with softening of the brain, he was sent to the asylum. He was a man of commanding presence, weighing at the time of his prostration, three hundred and forty pounds. He was connected with the Masonic and Odd Fellows' fraternities.

Mrs. Mary Vroman died at Syene, near Madison, December 6th, at the advanced age of ninety-eight years, ten months and twenty-six days. She was born in Newark, N. J., January 10th, 1778; was married at Johnston, N. Y., in 1796—seventy years before her death.

Hon. Augustus O. Dole died at Poynette, Columbia County, December 7th, in the sixty-first year of his age. He was born in Shelburne, Mass., February 11th, 1816. He settled in Wisconsin in 1856; and filled various town offices in Arlington and Poynette, and represented his district in the legislature in 1876.

David Hyer, one of the first settlers of Madison in 1837, died at Dartford, Green Lake County, December 7th, aged eighty-three years.

Hon. Levi Hubbell died in Milwaukee, December 8th, in his sixty-ninth year. Born at Ballston, N. Y., April 15th, 1808, he graduated at Union College, studied law, and was appointed by Gov. Marcey, adjutant-general of the State in 1833, serving in that position till 1836. In 1841 he served as a member of the New York legislature. Removing to Milwaukee in 1844, he

practiced his profession, until chosen circuit judge of the Second Judicial District in 1848, and re-elected in 1851, serving in the double capacity of circuit judge, and associate justice of the old supreme court till 1853, at one time chief justice, and served as circuit judge till his resignation in 1856. He was appointed U. S. district attorney for the Eastern District of Wisconsin in 1871, serving till 1875. His impeachment trial in 1853 was a notable event of the time; he was acquitted of the charges against him.

David Munson, a native of Colebrook, Conn., died at Baraboo, December 11th, in his seventy-fifth year. After residing several years in Alabama he settled at Baraboo in 1848. He served as sheriff of Sauk County in 1852-53. and eight years as town clerk of Baraboo.

Robert H. Millman, a Green County pioneer, died in that county December 18th, in his eightieth year. Born in Delaware, April 6th, 1797, he migrated when a boy to Ohio, afterwards to Indiana, and in 1844, to Green County, Wisconsin.

Judge Thomas P. Russell died at Oshkosh December 22d, aged eighty-four years. He was born at Windsor, Conn., August 31, 1792, removed when young to Vermont, where he served as probate judge sixteen years, and frequently served in one branch or the other of the State legislature. He settled at Oshkosh in 1854.

Father Franciskos Kralezinski, a native of Poland, pastor of St. Hedwig's and of St. Stanislaus churches, Milwaukee, died of heart disease, near the altar of the latter church, immediately on concluding services, December 24th, at the age of seventy-five years. He was found dead, kneeling before a crucifix, with his head resting upon a chair beside him.

Rev. John Gridley died at Kenosha, December 27th, at the age of eighty years. He was one of the first settlers there, and at one time pastor of the Congregational church.

1877

Prof. James H. Eaton died in Beloit, January 5th, of over-work in his thirty-fourth year. Born in Colchester, Conn., June 21st, 1842, he graduated at Amherst College in 1865, when he spent

two years in Germany, pursuing scientific studies, preparatory as a teacher. He served as a tutor a year at Amherst, when, in 1868, he was chosen to the chair of chemistry and mineralogy in Beloit College, rendering eminent service.

W. D. Stanley, a native of New Haven, Conn., died at Baraboo, January 7th, at the age of eighty-one years. He settled in Wisconsin in 1847.

Harvey G. Fox died in Oregon, Dane County, January 9th, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. He was a native of New York, and served in the War of 1812, at Lewiston, and in other engagements on the Niagara frontier. He removed to Wisconsin in 1844.

Capt. J. L. Pratt, widely known in southeastern Wisconsin, and an early settler at Whitewater, died in that city, January 17th, after a protracted illness. During the first years of the late war, he served with honor as a captain in the Thirteenth Wisconsin Infantry.

Hon. Samuel Hale died in Chicago, January 23d, aged seventy-six years. Born in Oneida County, N. Y., he commenced his active life as a peddler. As early as 1836, he settled at Kenosha. In Territorial times, he was a justice of the peace, afterwards county judge, and a member of the legislature in 1850 and 1854, exerting great influence in that body; and was, in the latter year, active in securing the first annual appropriation for the State Historical Society. In 1857, he engaged in business in Chicago, retaining his residence in Kenosha.

Rev. Joseph Lane, the first priest in charge of the Catholic churches in Morrison and Holland, in Brown County, died in Milwaukee, where he had gone for medical treatment, January 25th, at the age of thirty-two years. He was educated in Europe, and ordained at Green Bay.

Frank Allen died in Stoughton, January 26th, in his forty-eighth year. He had been, as an attorney-at-law, and editor of the *Reporter*, many years, identified with the place; and his extensive reading rendered him an interesting man in social life or forensic efforts.

Hon. David Agry, who was born in Hollowell, Maine, in 1793,

died at Green Bay, January 30th, at about the age of eighty-four years. Graduating at Dartmouth College in 1815, he read law, and commenced its practice in Bangor, and subsequently in Louisiana, and then in New York City. In September, 1840, he settled at Green Bay. In 1842-43, and again in 1843-44, he was chosen a member of the Territorial assembly; in 1847, of the first constitutional convention, and served for more than twenty years as county and probate judge of Brown County.

Hon. Daniel H. Richards died in Milwaukee, February 6th, nearly sixty-nine years of age. He was born in Burlington, Otsego County, N. Y., February 12th, 1808; received an academic education, and devoted himself to the profession of a printer. Settling in Milwaukee in 1835, he established the pioneer paper there, the *Advertiser*, in July, 1836. He represented his district in the assembly in 1868, 1870, 1871, 1874, and 1875; and held many offices of local trust.

Burley Follett died at Green Bay, February 14th aged seventy years. He was born in Otsego County, N. Y., December 30th, 1806; and when a youth, migrated first to Detroit, and then to Green Bay in June, 1830. During the Black Hawk War, he accompanied two companies of soldiers to Lake Koshkonong with goods and supplies, and returned to Fort Winnebago on horseback, and alone. He was register of deeds of Brown County from 1849 to 1853; served as treasurer of Green Bay borough, and then as city treasurer in 1854, alderman in 1857, and mayor from 1858 to 1863.

Died in the Dodge County poorhouse, February 16th, Hugh McDermott, a veteran of the War of 1812, at the age of eighty-six years. He had been an inmate of the poorhouse twenty years, and delighted in relating his interesting reminiscences of olden times.

Hon. Robert Flint died at Fond du Lac, February 17th, in the seventieth year of his age. He was a native of Wyoming County, N. Y., early studied law, practicing awhile in Buffalo; and settled at Fond du Lac about 1850. He was, in 1860, elected county judge of Fond du Lac.

Mrs. Ann Young died at Elkhorn, February 20th, in the ninety-fifth year of her age.

H. N. Comstock, an old resident and prominent lawyer of Janesville, died in that city February 24th. He was born in Wayne, Steuben County, N. Y., in 1822, and had resided in Janesville the past twenty years.

John A. Carswell died in Racine, March 3d, in his sixty-eighth year. Born in Salem, Washington County, N. Y., in September, 1809, he settled in Racine in 1839. He served two terms as sheriff of the county, and once as president of the village board. He was one of the commissioners to secure the right of way for the now Western Union Railroad, and grading the first section of it, lost some \$10,000 by the enterprise. In later years, he served several terms in the board of supervisors; and was secretary of the Pioneer Association.

Rev. Edward McGuirek died in Richwood, Dodge County, of apoplexy, March 20th, aged sixty-three years. He was a native of County Tyrone, Ireland, and after studying for the priesthood in France, he came to America, twenty-four years ago. He was ordained in Milwaukee. Served some time as professor of languages at St. Louis, and officiated eighteen years as priest between Watertown and Portage, the last four years of which at Richwood.

Mrs. Catherine Schneider, a native of Germany, died at Kenosha, March 22d, at the great age of one hundred and one years.

Hon. Samuel Pratt died in Racine, March 24th, in the seventyeth year of his age. He was born in Enfield, Mass., October 6, 1807; his parents removing to Ohio when he was quite young, and subsequently he removed to Michigan. Coming to Wisconsin in 1837, he settled at Spring Prairie, but did not move his family till 1845. He was a member of the assembly from Walworth County in 1849, 1855 and 1863; and elected to the senate in 1869, and re-elected in 1871—filling these and other positions with credit and usefulness.

Darius C. Jackson died in Middleton, N. Y., March 28th, at the age of sixty-three years. He was an extensive railroad contractor, and served six years as U. S. marshal for Wisconsin, having been appointed by President Lincoln.

Hon. Edward H. Janssen died at Grafton, Washington County,

March 29th. He emigrated from Germany over thirty years ago, settling in Washington County, where he became a successful farmer and miller. Elected state treasurer in 1851, and re-elected in 1853; he paid but little personal attention to the duties of his office, and at the close of his term, it was found he was a defaulter, owing to the infidelity of an unworthy assistant, to the amount of some \$32,000. He suffered greatly in mind, and sacrificed the hard earnings of a life-time to meet the defalcation. The prosecution as a criminal offense was finally withdrawn. He taught school a number of years, and in 1872 he was elected county superintendent, and served by re-elections till his death.

Rev. J. D. Stevens died at Beloit, March 29th, at the age of seventy-nine years. He was a native of the State of New York, and began life in the West as a teacher in the Indian mission at Mackinaw, where he remained a year. From 1828 to 1833, he labored among the Stockbridge Indians, on Fox River, and in 1834 and 1835 he again taught at Mackinaw, when he went to labor among the Sioux Indians, remaining there until 1841, when he went to Prairie du Chien, and in 1844 to Platteville. From 1847 to 1870, he labored at different places in Illinois and Wisconsin. From 1847 to 1873, a period of twenty-six years, he served as one of the trustees of Beloit College, with great advantage to that institution.

Rev. Joseph C. Fuller died at Madison, April 18th, in the twenty-sixth year of his age. He graduated, with the highest honors of his class, at the State University, in 1874; when he passed through a course of study in the Boston Theological School, and School of Oratory. Returning to Wisconsin, he engaged in Methodist circuit labors. He had written some excellent poetry, and left in manuscript a scholarly production on the poetic genius of Longfellow.

Hon. Harvey T. Moore died near Brodhead, Green County, April 24th, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. He was born at Barnet, Vt., Nov. 9th, 1809. He served in the Vermont legislature in 1849 and 1850. Removing to Wisconsin in 1857, he was chosen a member of the legislature as a War Democrat in 1862, and served as a Reformer in the senate in 1874-75. He was one

of the early directors in the Madison, Portage & Lake Superior Railway, and labored earnestly for its success.

Maj. James R. Mears died in Madison, April 26th, in his sixty-seventh year. Born in Montgomery County, N. Y., July 26th, 1810, he became a civil engineer, and aided in the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal. He settled in Madison in 1852, and in 1861 was appointed a paymaster in the volunteer service, serving the whole war, and was subsequently appointed to the same position in the regular army.

Dr. Chandler B. Chapman died in Madison, May 8th, in his sixty-second year. He was born in Middlebury, Vt., July 7th, 1815, and prepared himself for the profession of medicine. He settled in Madison, in June, 1846, but spent much of his time filling medical professorships at Rock Island and at Cincinnati; and in 1854 and 1875 he traveled extensively in the old world, furnishing interesting letters of his observations to the *State Journal*. His was a busy, exemplary life, crowned with eminent services.

Col. John Green died at Middleton, July 17th, aged about forty-three years. He was a native of England, and early settled in Green County. Early in the war he raised a company for the Thirty-seventh Regiment, of which he was promoted to major, October 19th, 1864, and colonel, July 21st, 1865, and performed brilliant service in the army of Virginia. In 1867, he represented a district of Iowa County in the legislature.

Hon. Don A. J. Upham died in Milwaukee, July 19th, at the age of sixty-eight years. Born in Weathersfield, Vt., May 31st, 1809, he graduated at Union College in 1830, filled a professorship of mathematics at Newark, Del., for three years; and, in 1834, settled at Wilmington, in that State, as an attorney-at-law. He served as city attorney there and was for three years editor and proprietor of the Delaware *Gazette*. In 1837, he settled at Milwaukee. He was a member of the Territorial legislature in 1840, 1841 and 1842; county attorney in 1843, and, in 1846, president of the first constitutional convention. In 1849 and 1850, he was mayor of Milwaukee. In the fall of 1851, he was a candidate for governor, and his opponent was declared successful;

but Mr. Upham "was, in fact," says Buck's *Pioneer History of Milwaukee*, "fairly elected, but was counted out in some unaccountable manner,"—by an error, it is said, in the footing of the returns. From 1857 to 1861, he was U. S. district attorney for Wisconsin.

Col. James O. Bartlett died in Mt. Pleasant, Racine County, August 2d, aged fifty-nine years. He settled in Racine, in November, 1836, twice serving as sheriff of Racine County, and once a term in the legislature, in 1866. During the war, he rose from a lieutenant to the rank of colonel. He was president of the Old Settlers' Society, and a member of the Grand Army of the Republic.

Hon. John Lowth died at Juneau, August 3d, aged fifty-five years. Born in County Meath, Ireland, June 6, 1822, he was taken to Vermont when young, where he received an academic education. In the spring of 1843, he removed to Wisconsin, settling first at East Troy, and two years later in Clyman, Dodge County. In 1849, 1850 and 1859, he served as a member of the legislature; and, in 1853, he was appointed deputy warden of the State prison, serving four years. He filled the office of clerk of the court for five successive terms, and was deputy clerk at the time of his death.

Judge H. C. Skinner died at San Diego, California, August 3d, at the age of seventy-two years. He settled in Milwaukee in 1836, and was a member of the Territorial legislature in 1837; and, in 1849, removed to California, where he served many years as a justice of the peace.

Judge James J. Petit died in Kenosha, August 5th, aged seventy-three years. He was born in Hamilton, Madison County, N. Y., May 26th, 1804; received an academic education, and then attended the Albany Law School; and settled in Kenosha in 1850. He was subsequently elected judge of the county court; and had the credit of writing the first petition ever presented in Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Garret Vliet died in Milwaukee, of apoplexy, August 5th, aged eighty-six years. He had early been employed, as a civil en-

gineer, on the Ohio canal with the late Dr. Lapham, and came to Milwaukee in 1835, at the solicitation of Byron Kilbourn, who secured for him a government appointment for the survey of public lands in Wisconsin.

B. W. Reynolds died at La Crosse, August 17th, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Born in Abbeville, S. C., he graduated at Middlebury College, Vt., and Andover Theological Seminary, and migrated to La Crosse as a missionary in 1851. In 1861, he was appointed receiver of the land office at St. Croix Falls. Near the close of the war he went to Washington, and thence to South Carolina, and took a prominent part in the Reconstruction Convention of that State, remaining there until 1868, when, failing in his political aspirations, he returned to Washington, and about two years since to La Crosse, where he engaged successfully in the publication of *The Star*. He possessed ability and eccentricity, but died a misanthrope.

Moses Strong was accidentally drowned, while engaged in the prosecution of the State Geological Survey, upon the Big Flambeau River, Aug. 18th, in the thirty-first year of his age. He was born in Mineral Point, June 17th, 1846, the only son of Hon. Moses M. Strong; and, to a sound academic education, he added the classical culture of Yale College, where he graduated in 1867; then spent a year each in scientific training at the Sheffield Scientific School at New Haven, the mining school at Clausthal, in the Hartz Mountains, and at the celebrated school at Freyberg, Saxony. Returning to Wisconsin, he engaged in lead mine surveys at Hazel Green, and in civil engineering on the Northern Pacific and Central Wisconsin railroads, and several preliminary lines in the lead region. In the spring of 1873, he was appointed, by Gov. Washburn, assistant state geologist, and served the State faithfully, with high credit to himself, in that relation, as the results will show in the volumes of the State Geological Survey. With a bright promise before him, his early death was sad; but he died, as has justly been said, amid "the perils that encompass duty."

Dr. Alfred L. Castleman died at Oakland, California, Aug. 22d, in his sixty-ninth year. He was a native of Kentucky, and first

settled in Milwaukee in 1835; then removing to Waukesha, representing the latter county in the second constitutional convention. He served as a surgeon in one of the Wisconsin regiments during the war, and published a work embracing his observations and experiences in the camp and the field. Three or four years before his death, he removed to California.

Prof. O. R. Smith died Aug. 25th, from the accidental discharge of a fowling-piece in his own hands. He had been a prominent educator in Wisconsin for many years—at Geneva, Janesville, and for the past five or six years had charge of the Sparta schools. He had been president of the State Teachers' Association, conductor of teachers' institutes, and, in 1871, clerk of the State senate.

Hon. James C. Hopkins died at Madison, September 30th, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He was born at Pawlet, Vermont, April 27, 1819, reared on a farm; eventually studied law, filled the position of postmaster at Granville, N. Y., and in 1853, was chosen a member of the New York senate, serving two years. He settled in the practice of his profession at Madison, in 1856; and in 1870, was appointed, by President Grant, judge of the United States Court for the Western District of Wisconsin, serving till his death.

Col. Samuel H. Scales died at White Oak Springs, September 13th, at the age of seventy-two years. He was born in North Carolina in 1805, and settled at White Oak Springs in 1830, engaging in lead mining operations. He commanded a company during the Black Hawk War; and used pleasantly to say, that the only wound he received during that war was a *military title*.

John H. Rock, a native of Essex County, N. Y., and one of the earliest settlers of Sauk County, died at Reedsburg, September 19th, aged sixty-five years.

Hon. James J. Lyndes died at La Crosse, September 25th, in his forty-eighth year. Born at North East, Erie County, Pa., March 21st, 1830, he settled at La Crosse in September, 1853, and engaged in the practice of the law. He was elected county judge of La Crosse County in 1858; in 1859, and again in 1872, he was chosen mayor, and eight times elected to the office of city attor-

ney. He was several years a member of the La Crosse board of education, and, from 1870, he served two terms of three years each as a regent of the State Board of Normal Schools.

Lord Francis Byron died at Grand Rapids, September 28th, in his sixty-second year. A French nobleman by birth, on account of a love affair and family disagreements, at the age of twenty he migrated to the West, settling first at Galena, and a year or two later at Grand Rapids, where he early erected mills, and became an extensive lumber manufacturer, and an enterprising pioneer. His family, in after years, gave him an immense tract of land in Canada, to which, however, he declined to remove, preferring his early home in the pineries.

Hon. Reuben G. Doud died at the Northern Hospital for the Insane, September 30th, aged forty-six years. He migrated from his native place, McGrawville, N. Y., in 1849, settling first at Green Bay, in the employ of others until 1856, when he commenced steamboat operations on Fox River and Lake Winnebago; and afterwards in lumbering. In 1865, he represented Wau-paca County in the legislature; and removing, in 1868 to Racine, he served as mayor of that city in 1872, 1873, and 1875.

John Fitzgerald, one of the pioneer settlers of Milwaukee, in 1836, died at Watertown, October 2d, at the advanced age of eighty-six years.

Dr. C. F. Ellsworth, another of the Milwaukee settlers of 1836, and where he remained thirty years, died at Elkhorn, October 19th, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

Linus Thompson died at Green Bay, October 30th, in his seventy-fifth year. He was born in Cherry Valley, N. Y., in 1802, and came to Green Bay with Judge Doty in 1822, where he continued to reside for fifty-five years. He built the first brick house in Brown County, in 1825.

Hon. Edward Pier died in Fond du Lac, November 2d, in the seventy-first year of his age. He was born in New Haven, Vt., March 31st, 1807. He arrived at Green Bay, in September, 1834; and, in February, 1836, visited the locality where Fond du Lac is now located and where he afterwards settled. At different times he served as county treasurer, president of the county

board for ten years, for ten years superintendent of the poor, and two terms in the State senate, from 1856 to 1859. He was also, at one time, one of the board of trustees of the State Insane Asylum, near Madison; and president of two banks, and for nearly twenty years a director of the Madison Insurance Company.

Hon. Wyman Spooner died in Lyons, Walworth County, November 18th, in his eighty-third year. Born in Hardwick, Massachusetts, July 2d, 1795, he early took up his residence in Vermont, where, for about a dozen years, he published a newspaper; meanwhile studying law, commenced its practice in 1833. Shortly after he removed to Canton, Ohio, and, in 1842, to Wisconsin, stopping a short time in Racine and then locating at Elkhorn. In 1846, he was elected judge of probate; in 1853, he was appointed judge of the circuit court to fill a vacancy. In 1850, 1851, 1857, and in 1861, he was a member of the assembly—in 1867, he was speaker of that body. In 1862–63, he was a member of the senate, and elected its president; and, in the fall of 1863, he was chosen lieutenant-governor of the State, and re-elected in 1865 and 1867.

Hon. William Murray died at the Insane Asylum, near Madison, November 24th, at the age of fifty-five years. He long resided at Clinton, Rock County, and was a prominent member of the legislature of 1853.

Hon. Benjamin Nute, one of the earliest settlers of Jefferson County, died at Watertown, December 1st, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He was born in New Hampshire in 1800, living several years in Boston, and then in Utica; and removed to Milford, Jefferson County, in 1837, being the first settler there. He represented his district in the assembly in 1849.

Benjamin E. Hale died in Brooklyn, New York, December 4th, at the age of sixty-eight years. He was, in early life, a Congregational minister, and formerly resided in Beloit, where for several years he edited a paper, and was a prominent temperance advocate.

Hon. Stephen Taylor, who died at Philadelphia, December 8th, in his seventy-third year, was born at Mifflinsburg, Pa., April 3, 1805, descending from early Quaker settlers of that State. As an

early settler of Wisconsin, a pioneer writer on its antiquities, and a benefactor of our Society, reference is made elsewhere in this volume.

James L. Manville died in Jefferson, Wis., December 11th, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He was a native of Jefferson County, N. Y. He was elected sheriff of Jefferson County, Wis., in 1850, and filled other important public trusts. In 1861, he enlisted as a private in the Tenth Wisconsin Volunteers; but the fatigues of the service were too great for his years, and he was soon after discharged.

Hon. Charles H. Walker died in the town of Manitowoc Rapids, December 14th, in the fiftieth year of his age—the last surviving child of the venerable Lyman Walker, of Kewaunee. He was born in Tully, N. Y., September 5th, 1828. Moving to Ohio when a youth, he was graduated at Western Reserve College, and soon after came to Wisconsin. He first commenced the practice of law at Kenosha and, in 1854, removed to Manitowoc. In 1856, and again in 1857, he represented his district in the legislature; and in the latter year, he was elected county judge of Manitowoc, serving till the summer of 1862, when he resigned, and raised a company for the Twenty-First Wisconsin Volunteers, seeing active service at Perryville and other hard fought battles, as well as on Sherman's march to the sea. He retired at the close of the war with the rank of major. The last six years of his life, he suffered from repeated strokes of paralysis.

1878

Charles D. Atwood, eldest son of Gen. David Atwood, died in Madison, February 6th, in the twenty-eighth year of his age. He was born in Madison, June 4th, 1850, where he grew up and received his education and early engaged in the profession of a journalist. When, in 1873, ex-Gov. Fairchild was appointed consul to Liverpool, he conferred the vice-consulship upon Mr. Atwood, who filled the position with credit. In the winter of 1876, he resigned, to enter again upon the *Journal* editorial staff. He was a young man of bright promise.

John C. Young died in Reedsburg, February 17th, in his eighty-

eightth year. He was born in Montgomery County, N. Y., in November, 1790, and settled at Reedsburg in May, 1856. He served in the War of 1812, and was a member of Masonic fraternity for more than sixty years, having received all the degrees attainable in America.

Hon. Samuel A. White died at Whitewater, March 4th, aged fifty-four years. He was born in Franklin, Delaware County, N. Y., August 10th, 1823, and graduated at Hamilton College, N. Y., in 1841; came to Wisconsin in 1845, settling at Port Washington, where he was appointed postmaster in 1853; represented Ozaukee County in the legislature in 1857, and was chosen county judge in 1861. He was assistant bank comptroller in 1864-65; regent of the Normal School Board from 1865 till 1870; and represented the Whitewater district in the legislature in 1871 and 1872.

Prof. John B. Feuling died at Fayette, Iowa, where he had gone for his health, March 10th, in the fortieth year of his age. He was born at or near Worms, on the Rhine, Germany, in 1838; and received a thorough education at the Worms Gymnasium, and Giessen University, in which latter institution he served awhile as instructor. He then took a post-graduate course in the Paris University; taught a German and French school in Toledo, in 1861; then, for awhile was engaged in teaching Greek in Racine College; and, in the spring of 1868, he was induced by President Chadbourne to accept the chair of modern languages and comparative philology in the State University, where he labored with zeal till stricken down by disease. Beyond some valuable papers contributed to the *Transactions* of the Wisconsin Academy of Science, and a Greek poem, he left no published work—the latter is a Greek text-book, with a Latin introduction and appended Latin notes, for the use of students. He had planned an elaborate work on Germanic inflections—a subject with which he was profoundly familiar. He had completed a students' arrangement on Montesquieu's *Considerations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et la Decadence des Romans*.

Hon. Alonzo B. Jackson, a native of Connecticut, died near Evanston, Ill., March 25th, aged sixty-four years. He was an

early settler in Racine County, and served in the Territorial legislature in 1846, and the next year was a member of the constitutional convention. In 1861, he was appointed by President Lincoln register of the land office at Menasha, a position which he held for several years. He removed to Evanston in the fall of 1868.

Hon. Alonzo Wilcox died in Spring Green, March 26th, at the age of sixty-eight years. He was born at Edmeston, N. Y., March 18th, 1810. He studied medicine, but, disliking the profession, never practiced it. After residing at different places in New York and Illinois, he settled at Madison in 1843, where he served on the first village board, several years as justice of the peace, and two terms as city treasurer. In 1856, he removed to Honey Creek, and afterwards to Spring Green, Sauk County, and represented his district in the legislature in 1863, and was sergeant-at-arms of the assembly in 1865.

Hon. Squire S. Case died at Mauston, March 30th, in his seventy-seventh year. He was born at Hillsdale, N. Y., September 27th, 1801, and early settled in Buffalo. He served many years as a member of the common council of that city, and was a member of the N. Y. legislature in 1837 and 1842. He commanded a regiment of militia during the Patriot War, in 1837. He settled in Waukesha in 1842, and was chosen a member of the first constitutional convention. In subsequent years, he was engaged in car-building, and as railroad station agent at Portage.

Rev. Wm. H. Brisbane died at Arena, April 5th, in the seventy-second year of his age. He was born in Beaufort District, S. C., October 12th, 1806; and early studied medicine. About 1830, he was ordained a minister in the Baptist denomination, serving acceptably in South Carolina, Ohio, New Jersey, Iowa and Wisconsin. He inherited several slaves, some thirty in number, whom he conveyed to the North, gave them their freedom, and saw them well settled in life. Many of his years were spent in the cause of negro emancipation; and in editing several newspapers. He was chief clerk in the State senate in 1857, chaplain to Washburn's cavalry regiment in 1861, and a delegate to the Republican national convention in 1876.

Hon. James Robinson died at Colton, California, April 7th, in his fifty-first year. Born in the city of New York, January 1st, 1828, he was chiefly raised in Pennsylvania, and served in the Mexican War, participating in several engagements. Settling in Wisconsin in 1848, he represented Calumet County in the legislature in 1852, 1853, 1857, 1862, and 1869; and was twice chairman of the town board of Chilton. He was a member of the national Democratic convention of 1876, and in the fall of 1877 removed to California.

Hon. James S. Brown died in Chicago, April 16th, in his fifty-fifth year. He was a native of Hampton, Maine, and settling in Milwaukee in 1845, he was elected the first attorney general of the State in 1848, serving one term. In 1861, he was chosen mayor of Milwaukee, and in 1862, he was elected to Congress.

Hon. Coles Bashford died in Tucson, Arizona, April 25th, in the sixty-third year of his age. Born in Putnam County, N. Y., in January, 1816, he was educated in the Wesleyan Seminary, at Lima, N. Y., admitted to the practice of law in 1841, and served as district attorney of Wayne County from 1847 to 1850, when he resigned and removed to Oshkosh. He served in the State senate of Wisconsin in 1852-55, when he resigned, and was in the fall of this latter year elected governor of the State. His unfortunate connection with the La Crosse land grant—from which, however, it is said, he never profited a dollar—cast a blight upon his reputation and prospects. In 1863, he removed to Arizona, where he was elected, in 1864, a member of the Territorial council, and was chosen president of that body. He was afterwards elected attorney-general of the Territory, and, in the fall of 1866, elected delegate to Congress, serving one term. He was afterwards appointed Territorial secretary, which he resigned in 1876. Notwithstanding the single mistake of his life, he had many warm friends.

Gen. John M. Binckley was drowned at Milwaukee—probably his own act—May 5th, aged about forty-seven years. He was a native of Ohio, studied both medicine and law; and was assistant attorney-general during Johnson's administration, and afterwards solicitor in the internal revenue department, where he began the

investigations which led to the subsequent prosecution of the whisky ring—when pressure was made, which secured his removal. He was editor of the *Milwaukee News* for a time.

Col. Fred S. Lovell died at Kenosha, May 14th, aged about sixty-three years. He was born in Palmyra, N. Y., in 1815, and was educated, studied law, and admitted to the bar in that State. He settled in Southport, now Kenosha, in September, 1837, and at once successfully engaged in the practice of his profession. He was chosen a member of both constitutional conventions—1846, and 1847; and, in 1847-48, he served three sessions in the Territorial council with ability, and until the State government was inaugurated. In 1857, he was elected a member of the assembly, and was chosen *pro tem.* speaker; and being re-elected to that body in 1858, he was chosen its speaker. In 1857-58, he was one of the codifiers of the Revised Statutes. In August, 1862, he was commissioned lieut.-colonel of the Thirty-Third Wisconsin Infantry, commanding the regiment the most of the war; and, in January, 1865, he was made colonel of the Forty-Sixth Regiment. At the close of the war, he was brevetted a brigadier-general, for the faithful and daring performance of his duty during the service. He was subsequently postmaster at Kenosha nearly two years, when he resigned.

Hon. Joseph S. Curtis died at Green Bay, May 15th, at the age of nearly forty-seven years. He was born in Warren, Ohio, June 8th, 1831, and graduated at Williams College in 1852, when he migrated to Green Bay where he successively filled the offices of city clerk, deputy clerk of the court, and justice of the peace, pursuing the while, the study of law. He accepted for a period a position in one of the State departments. On the breaking out of the war, he enlisted as a private in the Twelfth Wisconsin Regiment, utterly refusing a commission, participating in many battles during the Atlanta and Vicksburg campaigns. At length, in August, 1864, he accepted a lieutenancy in the Forty-Second Regiment, and was detailed as adjutant, and U. S. mustering officer at Cairo, till the close of the war. He was chosen a member of the assembly in 1869, 1871, and 1873; and was some time editor of the *Green Bay Gazette*, and clerk of the revisors of the statutes.

Lafayette Kellogg died at Madison June 4th, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was born at Elizabethtown, N. Y., Feb. 1st, 1819, and settled at Madison in 1838; and, in July, 1840, he was appointed clerk of the Territorial supreme court, on the resignation of Simeon Mills. With a brief intermission in 1849-52, he held the position till his death. From 1845 to 1848, he was elected clerk of the Territorial legislature; and was secretary of the constitutional convention of 1846.

Capt. Daniel M. Whitney died at Green Bay, June 6th, in his sixty-third year. Born at Chesterfield, N. Y., July 23d, 1815, he migrated to Green Bay in 1833. He was deputy sheriff of Brown county in 1843-44; sheriff in 1861-62; postmaster in 1862-65; member of the city council during 1866-68; and deputy U. S. marshal from about 1869 until his death.

Gustavus A. Cunningham died at Neenah, June 11th, about thirty-one years of age. For the last four years of his life he had been connected with the *Neenah Gazette*; in Jan. 1877, he was appointed postmaster of the place, and had prepared and published a creditable *History of Neenah*.

Hon. Alexander D. Ramsey died at Cassville, July 17th, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He was born in Kentucky, Nov. 28th, 1803. In about 1825, he migrated to Dubuque, where he followed mining a year or two, then settled at Cassville, where he lived for half a century. He shared in the Indian troubles of 1827, and the Black Hawk War of 1832. He was a member of the second constitutional convention, in 1847-48, and aided in forming the present constitution of the State.

Rev. P. Cagaton Krauthahn died in Milwaukee, July 17th. He was formerly a Catholic missionary in the East Indies, and lectured interestingly upon that country. He was a learned and useful clergyman—was editor of *The Columbia*, and was prominently connected with the Catholic educational institutions of that city and vicinity.

J. H. Ward died at Beaver Dam, July 24th, at the age of sixty-six years. He settled in Milwaukee in 1836, and at Beaver Dam in 1845, where he served as postmaster, and was a justice of the peace at the time of his death.

William Snyder died at Milwaukee, July 30th, in the forty-seventh year of his age. He was born in Bucks County, Pa., February 22d, 1822, and raised in Ohio. He was for some time a map publisher at Chicago. He was the senior publisher of the *Historical Atlas of Wisconsin*, to which he devoted three years of unremitting energy, which undermined his health, producing paralysis and death.

Julius C. Chandler died at Baraboo, August 28th, at the age of forty-six years. Born at West Randolph, Vt., August 23d, 1833, he was educated at the military school at Norwich, and afterwards learned the printing trade. He came to Wisconsin in 1854, and soon after aided in conducting the *Independent* at Portage, and subsequently started the Adams County *Independent*, conducting it until May, 1864, and then served as a private in the Fortieth Wisconsin Regiment till October. He subsequently engaged for awhile in other newspaper ventures, was a vigorous writer, bold, humorous, witty, and often reckless. But for his erratic character, and grave weaknesses, he might have exerted a large influence.

Gen. Henry Bertram died in Juneau, September 2d, aged fifty-three years. He was born in Prussia, October 5th, 1825. Emigrating to the United States when fifteen years old, he served in the artillery of the regular army five years, participating in the Mexican War. He settled at Watertown in 1858. He entered the service in 1861 as a lieutenant, and aided, in July of that year, in capturing the Maryland legislature; and soon after joined the Twentieth Wisconsin, and commanded a brigade at the battle of Prairie Grove, Arkansas, December 7th, 1862, and was slightly wounded; and assisted, December 28th, in the capture of Van Buren, Arkansas. He shared in the siege of Vicksburg, in 1863; aided in the siege and capture of Fort Morgan, Alabama, and had several engagements with the Confederates near Pascagoula. He commanded a brigade at the capture of Spanish Fort, Alabama, April 3d, 1865, and entered Mobile three days afterward. For these gallant services, he was brevetted brigadier-general. He was appointed postmaster at Watertown in 1866, elected mayor of the city in 1870, and sheriff of Dodge County in the fall of that year.

Capt. Andrew S. Bennett, of the U. S. army, was killed in a fight with hostile Indians near Clark's Fork of the Yellowstone, September 4th, in the vigor of life. In April, 1861, he was the first man to enlist in Waukesha County, when he was chosen second lieutenant in the Fifth Wisconsin Regiment, and was subsequently adjutant, sharing in the action at Williamsburg, the six battles before Richmond, Antietam, Gettysburg, and the battles of the Wilderness. In 1866, he filled a position in the secretary of state's office; and, in the spring of 1867, was appointed a first lieutenant in the regular army, rising to a captaincy, and rendering much meritorious service on the frontier. He was a brother-in-law of Hon. H. D. Barron.

Capt. John W. Cotton died at Green Bay, September 10th, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. He was born at Plymouth, Mass., March 9th, 1800, descending from old John Cotton and the Winslows of Puritan fame. He early entered the Military Academy, graduating in 1823, and entering the army. For many years he was stationed on the frontiers in the South and West. From long continued exposures on frontier duty, he contracted disease, which led him in November, 1845, to resign; and in 1848, he located at Green Bay, where he had in 1825, married his wife.

Hon. Edward M. Hunter died in Milwaukee, September 13th, in his fifty-third year. He was born in Bloomington, Sullivan County, N. Y., February 19th, 1826, and early studied law in New York City. In 1849, he commenced the practice of his profession in Milwaukee and served a term in the State senate in 1853-54, and as private secretary to Gov. Barstow during his administration. For many years he served very acceptably as U. S. court commissioner, and commissioner of the circuit court for the Milwaukee district. He wrote an interesting memoir of the civil life and public services of Gov. Barstow, which appears in the fifth volume of the *Wis. Hist. Collections*.

Hon. Rufus Parks died at Summit, Waukesha County, September 14th, in his eighty-first year. He was born in Maine, May 24th, 1798; and came to Wisconsin in 1836—filling, by appointment of President Jackson, the office of receiver in the land office at Milwaukee until after the inauguration of President Har-

rison, in 1841, when he retired from office, and settled on a farm in Summit. When his accounts as receiver were audited, he was reported one dollar and fifty cents short in his remittances; when he went all the way to Washington, spending three months, and got the error rectified, and the correctness of his returns vindicated. He was a member of the first constitutional convention in 1846; and, in 1858, he was appointed superintendent of public property by Gov. Randall. He represented his district in the legislature in 1867.

Hon. Robert H. Hotchkiss, of Plymouth, Sheboygan County, died at his son-in-law's, in New York City, September 29th, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was born at Smithfield, Madison County, N. Y., December 24th, 1818; and devoted the earlier portion of his life to the printing business. He early settled in Sheboygan County, representing his district in the assembly in 1857, and in the senate in 1859-60, and again in 1868. While in the senate, he introduced the State printing law, which, since changed in some of its details, has worked so successfully since its passage. He also held numerous local offices of trust and responsibility.

Daniel Read, LL. D., died October 3d, at Keokuk, Iowa, in his seventy-fourth year. Born near Marietta, Ohio, June 14th, 1805, he received his education in the Cincinnati and Xenia academies, and the Ohio University, where he graduated in 1824. Though he was admitted to the bar, he never practiced; but early filled the professorship of political economy and constitutional law, in the Ohio University, and vice-president of that institution. He was, in 1843, elected professor of ancient languages in the Indiana University; and, in 1850, a member of the Indiana constitutional convention. In 1856, he was called to fill a chair in the Wisconsin University, where he served ten years; and, in 1866, he was chosen president of the Missouri University, resigning in 1876, and retiring from college life, after fifty years devoted to his useful profession. In 1840, he was one of the visitors to West Point, writing the report for the board; and was subsequently again a visitor, when residing in Wisconsin. He wrote much, mostly eulogies, and on educational topics. The cherished

ideal of his life, and for which he had collected materials, was left undone—a *History of Education in the Northwest*. His son, Gen. Theodore Read, was killed in an engagement before Richmond, near the close of the Civil War.

Hon. Cyrus C. Remington died at Baraboo, October 13th, at the age of nearly fifty-four years. Born in Sheridan, Chautauqua County, New York, November 10th, 1824, he came with his parents to Wisconsin in 1840. He subsequently studied law, and settled in Sauk County in May, 1847, where he entered upon the practice of his profession. In 1854, he represented his district, Sauk and Adams counties, in the legislature; and was county judge of Sauk from January, 1870, to April, 1873, when he resigned.

Prof. S. H. Carpenter, LL. D., died when called to visit a sick brother at Geneva, N. Y., December 7th, in his forty-eighth year. He is appropriately noticed elsewhere in this volume.

Col. Richard Dunbar died at Waukesha, December 17th, in his fifty-third year. He was born in Ireland, May 1st, 1826, and came to this country at an early age. His first visit to Waukesha was in 1850. He was engaged for some time in railroad construction in Minnesota; then served in the executive department at Madison, under Governor Randall. When the war broke out, he went to Washington, filling a position under the government; and afterwards went to Cuba, on a railroad enterprise, which proved unprofitable. He at length located at Waukesha, and brought the mineral waters there into great repute, by his energy and herculean labors.

Hon. William Plocker died at Boston, December 21st, in his sixty-eighth year. He was born in London, May 28th, 1811; was engaged in various clerical operations in the State of New York, until he settled in Metomen, Wisconsin, where he was town clerk, chairman of the town board for ten years, chairman of the county board in 1857, county supervisor of the poor from 1860 to 1870, and member of the legislature in 1875. At the time of his death, he was about to start on an extended tour in South America and Mexico.

Additions

Page 287, when Edward Tanner passed through Wisconsin in 1818, he was in search of a brother, who since 1790, had been a captive, and grown up with the Indians. He had been taken, when nine years old, from his father's station on the Ohio; and Edward, his older brother, had made many journeys in search of him, attending Indian treaties, and visiting the various Indian tribes of the Northwest. Singularly enough, the captive, remembering that he had been taken from Kentucky, made a trip to that region in quest of his relatives, in the latter part of 1818, at the very time his brother Edward was searching for him in Wisconsin, Mackinaw, and other points. The latter traced him to Detroit, and learned of his Kentucky visit, and finally found him on his return from his fruitless jaunt to Kentucky, in the neighborhood of Detroit, where the two brothers, after a twenty-eight years' separation, had a joyous meeting. They could only communicate with each other through an interpreter. Edward Tanner took his captive brother with him to his home in New Madrid County, Missouri; designing to go with him the next year to the Chippewas, on Rainy Lake, for his wife and seven children. But John Tanner, though cleanly, and of temperate habits, yet so inveterately Indian in all his characteristics, and jealous and suspicious of everybody—in fact, much of a misanthrope—that he soon left his brother, and returned to the Indians. Henry R. Schoolcraft had him awhile for interpreter: and in 1830, his *Narrative* was published, prepared by Dr. Edwin James. He grew more and more sour and morose in his disposition, because the world would not support him in his idleness; and, in 1836, hid himself in the bushes, and shot and killed James L. Schoolcraft, a brother of H. R. Schoolcraft, and fled to the fastnesses of the wilderness, evading apprehension. He died in 1847, at the age of sixty-six years. His son, James Tanner, became a Unitarian missionary.

Page 400, at the close of the paragraph ending with the words "either side," an accidental omission of several paragraphs occurs in Mr. Kingston's paper, which greatly mars the narrative, and is deeply regretted. It was not noticed till after the form was worked off. The omission is here supplied:

Neighbors there were none, and not even an Indian was seen at the camp until about the opening of spring; and not the mark of a white man was to

be found on Yellow River above the claim made by Werner and Kintongs the fall previous, at the present location of Necedah.

The winter passed off in the usual manner with loggers in the pine woods, hard work during the day, and the song and story after supper in the evening until 9 o'clock, when all hands would "turn in" for the night. Daylight always found the men and teams in the woods ready to begin the day's work when there was light enough to see.

Sunday was a day of rest. There being neither neighbors to visit, nor return visits, the time of the men was mostly passed in the camp. Some had their old logging experience to relate. Others were fortunate in finding an old newspaper or perhaps a book, while others forgot the cares of life in the bunk.

The fall of '48, and until late in the following winter the weather was extremely cold; and it was remarked by those who paid attention to the matter, that it did not thaw in the shade from the 5th day of November until the 21st day of February. On the latter day the thaw commenced, and on the 22d the camp was broken up. Kingston with two or three men and the teams started for Point Bausse, it being necessary to get the cattle across the swamps and marshes without delay.

Weston, with the rest of the hands, except Daniel Dugan, the cook, who was left to keep camp, started down Yellow River for the purpose of cutting out the leaning trees in the stream. A hand-sled of suitable proportions was constructed on which to haul provisions, camp fixtures, etc. For the first three or four days they made good progress on the ice; but at the end of this time the ice left them, and they were driven to seek a road on the bank. The work was now more difficult, and the progress slow, and not until the sixth day after leaving camp did they reach the point selected for the mill. Here they were met by Kingston and the men with him, who had gone around by Grand Rapids, and from there by way of Strong and McCartney's tavern, on the road leading to Portage City, about twelve miles east of the Pete-en-Well Rock, with two loads of lumber for the purpose of building shanties at the selected point. Two days were required to cut the road through to the Wisconsin River; but on reaching there the ice was found unsafe for crossing the teams, and passing over the river on foot, they made their way to the Yellow River, meeting Weston and his men as before stated. After a consultation the idea of building shanties at the present time was abandoned, accordingly a track for the sled was bushed through to Pete-en-Well, and all hands took the road from there to the Grand Rapids, to await the opening of navigation on the Wisconsin.

After remaining at the Rapids for a few days, a part of the hands started again for the camp for the purpose of making ready for driving the logs. Reaching Cranberry Creek, they found it very high; and for a distance of thirty or forty rods on the west side of the creek, the water was from two to three feet deep, and covered with a thin sheet of ice, not sufficiently strong, however, to bear them up on foot. Suiting their actions to the necessity of the case, after crossing the creek, they all assumed a horizontal position and

rolled across to the high land. This manner of locomotion might appear amusing to a mere looker on, but still it was more agreeable to the feelings than to wade through the water at that season of the year.

Reaching the camp, they found Dugan, the cook, very lonesome; and although rejoiced to see them, yet he was completely discouraged on account of the failure of his efforts to make sugar from the "sap" of the yellow birch!

A boat was now built to carry the cook and provisions, and also for the use of the "jam" breakers; and a skiff for the "sackers"—Weston with two or three men taking charge of the former, and Kingston and two others of the latter.

Two thousand and twelve logs, scaling about seven hundred thousand feet, were banked during the winter. The water being extremely high, and not knowing the nature of the stream in such stages, it was thought best to hold the logs until the river should commence to fall. The river was found to be exceedingly crooked, and so much obstructed by snags and leaning trees that the drive was compelled to hang up before getting through. A second rise in the river occurring within a few days, the logs were driven down, and securely boomed at the point of destination.

After securing the logs at the destined point, a part of the men were dispatched to the Grand Rapids after a small raft of lumber to be used in building shanties, etc.; while the remainder were employed, in the meantime, in putting up the body of a double log house, and clearing off the brush from a few acres of land around the house, and extending down the river, so as to include the site of the proposed mill. By the time this was accomplished, the men sent for the lumber had returned, landing the raft at the Pete-en-Well Rock. A flat-boat was also run down to the same place, bringing the mill-wheels, gearing, etc., the boat to be used as a ferry across the Wisconsin River, to put the new settlement in connection with the road cut through from Strong and McCartney's tavern, earlier in the spring. When the house was completed, and a home established, a gang of men started up the river for the purpose of getting out timber for the mill. Not having a team to haul the timbers to the river, the plan adopted was to place down peeled skids, and, by means of ropes, the timber was hauled to the river sometimes a distance of twenty or thirty rods.

The weather being very warm, with frequent showers of rain, the mosquitoes annoyed the men very much, and more particularly the cook, who, at times not being able to mix his bread, would substitute "pan-cakes," thereby relieving one hand to battle with the mosquitoes, leaving the latter the chances for being stirred into the batter, or otherwise, as accident or circumstances might determine!

As soon as the timber was run down, a millwright by the name of A. Wiltse, of Marquette County, now of Stevens Point, was employed to frame the mill, and put in the machinery, which was hauled over from the Wisconsin. In the meantime, work on the dam was progressing; and by the end of Summer, the work was so far completed, that the mill was put in operation.

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